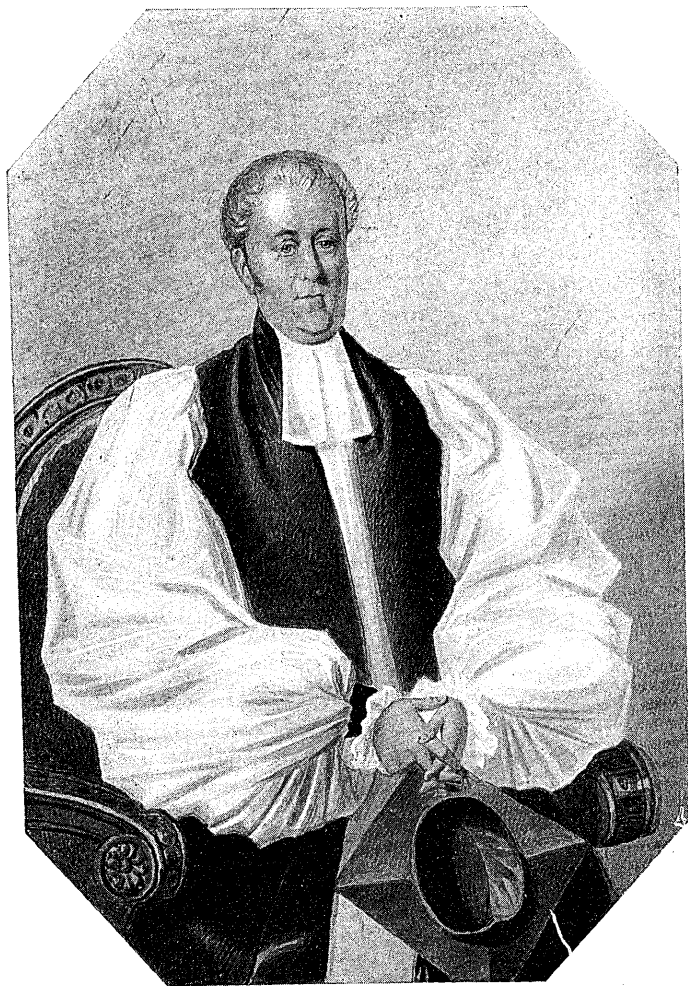


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WILLIAM GRANT BROUGHTON



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BISHOP OF AUSTRALIA

With Some Account of the
Earliest Australian Clergy

By

F. T. WHITINGTON, LL.B.

Hon. Fellow of the Australian College of Theology,
Archdeacon Emeritus of Hobart, and Vicar-General
of the Diocese

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TO
THE MOST REVEREND
HOWARD WEST KILVINTON MOWLL, D.D.
ARCHBISHOP OF SYDNEY, AND METROPOLITAN
OF NEW SOUTH WALES

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to do something towards laying the foundation for the ecclesiastical history of Australia. While visiting England many years ago, the writer was a guest at St Augustine's College, Canterbury. One of the Fellows, after referring to the recently published English edition of the first Bishop of Adelaide's life, asked why no adequate biography of Bishop Broughton had been written, while lives of his contemporaries—Perry, Tyrrell, and Short—had all appeared, particularly as the Bishop was, indirectly, the cause of the founding of St Augustine's. Although entirely agreeing with this protest, the biographer of Bishop Short felt unable to act upon the suggestion that he should step into the breach. The task, he urged, should be undertaken by a resident of New South Wales, the centre of the labours of the Bishop of Australia, who must have left behind him much valuable information. But a promise was given to bring the subject before some of the leading clergy in Sydney. This was done, without effect, excepting a promise to give assistance in a work which everybody agreed ought to be undertaken.

The appropriateness of publishing in Australia a biography of the Bishop of Australia at the time of the commemoration of the centenary of Bishop Broughton's enthronement on 5 June 1836 is obvious. And it is felt, by those who have been associated in the work, that it has been a privilege to make the production of this book a contribution to the centenary celebrations. One reason strongly pressed against venturing on a Broughton biography has

been that, a century after a man's work had ended, it is difficult effectively to record his career with the personal element essential to revive an individuality that has been clouded by the passing of time. From the point of view of mere attractiveness this is true. But the object in handing on the life-story of public characters is to lay to heart the man's message to his own age and to try to apply it to the conditions of succeeding generations.

Judged from this standpoint, William Grant Broughton's life richly deserves to be kept in mind. It is a commonplace to bemoan the distracted conditions of the world of to-day. Broughton persistently taught that the first necessity in building up national life was an all embracing educational system, based upon the cardinal truths of revealed religion. The political wise men of his time scouted the idea of an essential dogmatic faith, and following the fatal lure of the line of least resistance, have covered Australia with an undenominationalism which is causing deep anxiety even among many who earn their bread under its aegis.

Next, as chairman of the committee of the early New South Wales Legislative Council (of which he was an *ex officio* member), Broughton produced a report of fifty printed foolscap pages, in which he pleaded for the settlement of the people on the Crown lands, and for a contribution, from the income derived from the public estate, towards a religious educational endowment for both higher and primary schools. In sermons, lectures, and speeches he has left a remarkable amount of literature containing records of the principles for which he pleaded.

I am glad to be able, here, to express my gratitude to those who have helped in making this book: To Dr Micklem, rector of St James's, Sydney, the church so closely associated with Australia's first bishop. In the midst of a crowded parochial and diocesan life he came to the rescue when age and other infirmities threatened to hold up the project. Not only has he entirely contributed six chapters

(XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXI), but he has also given his scholarship and criticism in reviewing most of the book, and in reading and correcting the proofs; and he has done all this *pro ecclesia*: to the beloved diocesan of Tasmania, Bishop Montgomery, who, after his return to England, enlisted Dr Claude Jenkins, then librarian at Lambeth Palace, in research work among the Lambeth archives; and he himself, aided by Lady Montgomery, did much copying of documents: to my old chief at Hobart Cathedral, Dean Dundas; and to my dear friends, the Rev. C. E. C. Lefroy, and the Rev. A. G. B. West. I am indebted, also, to many members of the laity, including Mr S. G. Boydell and the late Mr Charles B. Boydell, grandsons of Bishop Broughton; and to our Church Advocate in Tasmania, Mr W. F. D. Butler, B.A., L.C.B., B.Sc., who guided me in the legal questions that have often to be considered in publishing books. Great service has been rendered by the librarian and staff of the famous Mitchell Library, and the state and other libraries in Sydney; by the librarians of Melbourne and Hobart public libraries; and by the Church Registry staff at Sydney.

The frontispiece portrait of Bishop Broughton is from a painting in the possession of Mrs E. E. Kemp of Sydney. A number of the portraits and of the views of old Sydney have been made available through the kindness of the Librarian of the Mitchell Library, Sydney. We are also indebted to the following: Mr William Dixson, of Sydney, the Bishop of Newcastle, the Rev. Frank Cash, and Mr H. B. Cowper. The illustration of the King's School, Canterbury, is from a photograph kindly lent by the Archbishop of Sydney, and that of Bishop Broughton's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral from a photograph provided by the Rev. J. W. S. Tomlin, Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury.

As this book was going through the press the Archbishop of Canterbury announced his intention of giving an address in Canterbury Cathedral in connexion with the Bishop

Broughton Centenary and on the day (5 June 1836) on which is to be commemorated Broughton's enthronement as Bishop of Australia: and His Grace has arranged for the broadcasting of the address throughout the Empire. This proposed action on the part of the Primate of all England, speaking as he will as representative of the whole Anglican Communion, is an impressive justification of the claims which this book respectfully makes for a place among the historical records of the "ancient church of the English."

F.T.W.

Hobart, Lent, 1935.

"Bishop Broughton, the first Bishop of Australia, whom no distance wearied, no difficulty daunted, and whose far-reaching counsel, with an instinct that may without exaggeration be called prophetic, traced out the boundaries of Sees and Provinces which to ordinary minds seemed but the mere creatures of an idle fancy."—REV. H. W. TUCKER: *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D.*, vol. i, p. 3, London.

CHAPTER I

BEGINNING OF AUSTRALIAN CHURCH HISTORY (1788-1829)

It should help to provide a foundation for the better understanding of the life and work of the first Bishop of Australia briefly to recall the state of religion in Australia prior to Bishop Broughton's time, even though it may have already received some notice. And, first, it is more than interesting to rescue almost from oblivion the fact that originally Australia was not designed for a convict settlement.

Upon the revolt of the American colonies, and the consequent impossibility of continuing to send convicts there from England, attempts were made to found penal settlements on the west coast of Africa, but these failed because of the deadly climate. About this time James Matra, who had served as one of Captain Cook's crew in the *Endeavour*, suggested to the Government that the Loyalist folk who had been ruined by their faithfulness to the Crown in the conflict with the American people, might be compensated by being given land to open up a new English colony in Australia.¹ He is said to have been supported in the scheme by Joseph Banks, the botanist of the *Endeavour*, from whom Botany Bay has its name. The Government at first looked favourably upon the plan. But Lord Sydney, the Home Secretary, saw that a more pressing problem would be solved by using the island continent for transportation pur-

¹ James Bonwick, F.R.G.S., *Australia's First Preacher*, Chapter II (London, 1898).

poses. And so he proposed to the Prime Minister, Pitt, that New South Wales might be "a very proper region for the reception of criminals." Matra ultimately concurred, declaring that in the idea "good policy and humanity are united." The outlines for a new penal colony were accordingly drawn up and forwarded to the Government by the Lords of the Admiralty in August 1785, though Howe, the First Lord, is reported as having been against the proposal. In these outlines provision was made for each convict ship "to have a chaplain on board, together with a surgeon and one mate; the former to remain at the settlement." It is therefore a mistake to suggest, as many writers have done, that no thought was given to religion in the preliminary arrangements made for beginning to people Australia by establishing a convict settlement at Botany Bay. Possibly the ecclesiastical aspect of the scheme did not receive much detailed attention, for British Governments generally content themselves with treating the religious side of state affairs with all politeness, but as something in the nature of an extra. At any rate the matter was not altogether ignored.

While all the other preliminaries were being considered, the Prime Minister seems to have been in consultation with his fellow Commoner, William Wilberforce, for help in finding a clergyman for the Botany Bay expedition. Wilberforce consulted John Newton, the poet parson and friend of Cowper. Newton was the leading spirit of the Eclectic Society of clergy, Nonconformist ministers and laymen, out of which the Church Missionary Society finally developed, and which included among its clerical members, such notable men as Charles Simeon, Fletcher of Mandalay, Venn, and Baptist Noel; and of the laity Wilberforce, Cowper, and John Thornton, the wealthy merchant who is believed to have given away half of his yearly income. This great philanthropist appears to have been a friend of a young clergyman, Richard Johnson, who had just then been admitted

to priest's orders. Born in Norfolk in 1753, he won at the grammar school of Kingston-upon-Hull a sizarship at Cambridge, where he graduated senior optime from Magdalene College in 1784. His name was introduced to the "Eclectics" as a suitable man for the Australian chaplaincy by Newton, and under date 28 October 1786, Henry Venn wrote to a kinswoman that Johnson "through the influence of Mr Wilberforce and Mr Pitt, is appointed chaplain to Botany Bay at the age of thirty-three, with a salary of £180 per annum." To be exact, the official stipend was £182, that is, ten shillings a day. His nomination was submitted by the Government to the Archbishop of Canterbury and approved. Yet despite the small salary and venturesome sphere of work, he succeeded in getting a wife, and the Government provided him with a parson's clerk. Newton spoke of him as "a humble and simple-minded man. I think he would not have thought of this service if it had not been proposed to him: for some time he wished to decline it, but he could not, he durst not." He seems to have been a true evangelical, in the best sense of the word, but of a somewhat shy and reserved temperament, which did not help him in the rough task to which he had set his hand, nor was he physically robust.

But although the authorities of the Church may not have taken the initiative in procuring the chaplain for Botany Bay, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Moore) interested himself in getting some suitable literature for Johnson to carry with him, and in connexion herewith he was presented to the committees of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There is this record in the S.P.C.K. minutes for 14 November 1786, more than six months before the First Fleet left London:

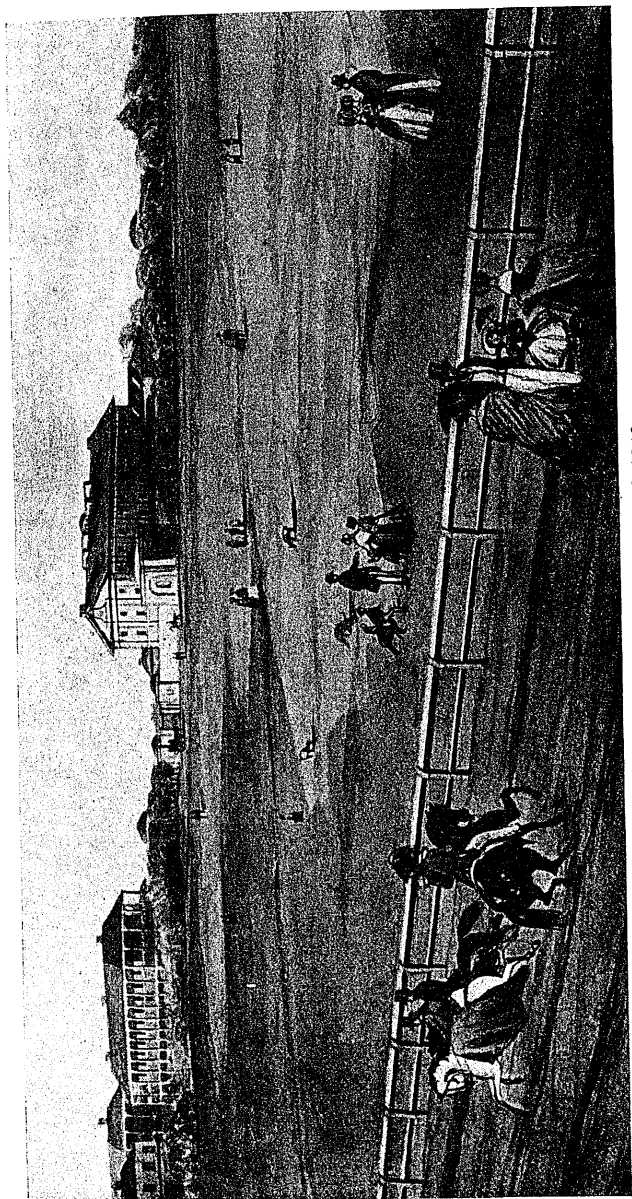
Dr Morice [secretary to the S.P.G. Society] reported to the Board that he was charged with a message from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury recommending to this Society that they would furnish

the Rev. Mr Johnson, who is going to Botany Bay as chaplain to the convicts, with some Bibles and other religious books for the use of his charge, and it was suggested that there was reason to believe a considerable number of books lately had by Mr Thornton, on Society's terms, were intended for this purpose. The secretary was therefore directed to write to that gentleman for information, whether all or any of the books are to be sent to Botany Bay. If so, the Board conceives His Grace's wish to have been already virtually complied with: if not, the Board resolves to reconsider the matter at their next meeting and to adopt some conclusion agreeable to His Grace's wish.

Upon hearing from Thornton that he intended half of the books mentioned for Johnson, the S.P.C.K. notified the Archbishop "that they are most readily willing to make whatever addition thereto His Grace shall deem expedient," and the chaplain-elect attended a meeting of the Board and received a grant of 100 Bibles, 400 New Testaments, 100 Prayer Books, 500 Psalters, and some 3000 tracts and other publications of the Society. The official record adds: "The Board expressed their most fervent wishes that the Divine blessing might go with him in his undertaking, and requested Mr Johnson to favour the Society from time to time with his correspondence." It would seem the chaplain unfortunately omitted to comply with this request, excepting by one letter written three years after his arrival in Australia. And it is singular that his diary of the voyage to New South Wales apparently has been lost, for it is clear that he kept one, as Newton wrote him on 24 June 1789: "I heard a part of your journal read in our Eclectic Society."

In response to an appeal made by Johnson in 1795, the S.P.G. agreed to provide grants in aid towards the salaries of four school-teachers in New South Wales; so both the venerable English missionary societies did something to assist the chaplain.

The official commission granted to the first Australian clergyman seems now a curious document:



HYDE PARK, SYDNEY, IN 1842
From the original in the Dixon Gallery, Public Library of New South Wales.

George the Third, &c., to our trusty and well-beloved Richard Johnson, clerk, greeting:

We do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain to the settlement within our territory called New South Wales. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of chaplain, by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging; and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time as you shall receive from our Governor of our said territory for the time being, or any other your superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at our Court of St James's, the twenty-fourth day of October, 1786, in the twenty-sixth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command.

SYDNEY.

The placing of the chaplain under the "Articles of War" looks at first sight rather startling, but the explanation must be that as the new convict colony was entirely a military settlement all its officers had in those early days to be brought under the ruling regime. Up to 1804 the chaplains remained subject to the military authorities. They were then placed under the sole direction of the Governor until 1810, when they were transferred to the control of "the principal chaplain," under whose authority they remained until the coming of the first archdeacon. But even after Australia received its bishop, the State often showed a disposition to interfere in matters ecclesiastical, and this necessarily led to a good deal of friction, especially in Tasmania, when that island was constituted a separate colony and raised to an episcopal see.

On 13 May 1787, within a fortnight of seven months from the date of Chaplain Johnson's official appointment, the memorable First Fleet set sail from Portsmouth with Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., the first Governor of New South Wales, and his staff, about 200 marines, 750 convicts, and some children. There were two warships, the *Sirius* and the *Supply*, six convict transports, and three supply-ships, and in one of these vessels carrying stores, the *Golden Grove*, the chaplain and his wife and the par-

son's clerk were travellers, which suggests that those who organized the expedition evidently considered that the chaplain might have been appropriately labelled "Not wanted on the voyage," as they separated him from both the official staff and the soldiers, and from the unhappy human freight in the transports.

After a passage of a little over eight months the voyagers reached Botany Bay, the first of the vessels arriving on 18 January 1788. On that day in that month, forty-eight years afterwards, the letters patent creating the bishopric of Australia were issued—the year before Victoria came to the throne. An examination of Botany Bay satisfied Phillip that it would never be a satisfactory harbour, so he took to the boats and inspected the adjacent Port Jackson, and thus the site of the first Australian city was fixed on the shores of what is admittedly one of the finest natural ports in the world. The fleet received orders to move into what Phillip named Sydney Cove, after the then Home Secretary in England.

The official landing took place on Saturday, 26 January 1788, but all the vessels from Botany Bay had not reached Port Jackson in time for the ceremony, and the ship with the chaplain on board was one of these, so he could not have taken part in the proceedings even if the Governor had so wished. It is said that the chaplain held a service on board the *Golden Grove* on Sunday, 27 January, the day after the proclamation of the colony. In a narrative by Captain Watkin Tench, of the Marines, in reference to the formal occupation of the new settlement, it is said: "On the Sunday after our landing service was performed under a great tree by the Rev. Mr Johnson, chaplain of the Settlement, in the presence of the troops and convicts, whose behaviour on the occasion was regular and attentive." This tree is said to have been in the lower George Street of today, near to the foot of Argyle Street. From an entry in the journal of Arthur Bowes, the surgeon on one of the trans-

ports, the date is more particularly fixed by the entry: "Feby 3rd. On this day the Rev. Mr Johnson preached on shore for the first time." And the chaplain in his register of births and marriages and burials also records: "Feby 3, first divine service, and on this Sabbath the first baptism, a son of Samuel Thomas, a marine, was performed." The text of the first sermon preached in Australia was: "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me" (Ps. cxvi, 12). Besides the service on shore on the morning of Sunday, 3 February, the chaplain officiated in the afternoon on the *Sirius*, the Governor's flagship. The first celebration of Holy Communion was on Sunday morning, 17 February, truly a *dies memorabilis*, of which the significance made its impression on at any rate one of the official establishment, a certain Lieutenant Clark, who in a Pepys-like diary, forwarded to his wife, wrote: "Major Ross sent to ask me if I would be so good as to let the Governor have our marquee to take Sacrament in, which I did not refuse, and I am happy that it is to be my marquee—never did it receive so much honour. Oh, my God, my God, I wish I was fit to take the Lord's Supper. When it pleases Him that I return home, the first thing that I will do shall be to take it with you, my dear Betsy. I will keep this table, also, as long as I live, for it is the first table that ever the Lord's Supper was eaten from in this country."

Even if some excuses may be found for the absence of an official act of thanksgiving on the Sunday immediately succeeding the proclamation, they are discounted in the light of the subsequent failure of the authorities to make any provision for public worship. Four years after the forming of the settlement, the chaplain was still holding the services under the gum-trees, and when Governor Phillip returned to England in 1792, the settlement was still without any church building. At length Johnson determined personally to set about putting up, with the help of labourers whom he had to pay, the wattle-and-daub structure which

must be ever memorable as the first building placed on Australian ground as a house of God. The chaplain, of course, did not know that at this very time the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he had appealed in his distress, was writing to the Under Secretary, Nepean: "I should be obliged to you for a hint of information whether any measure is taken in respect of a place or places of worship at Botany Bay, the want of which is so apparent from the letters which I communicated to you for Mr Dundas's [the Home Secretary] information."

The site of the chaplain's temporary church is generally accepted to have been where Bligh and Hunter streets join in busy, modern Sydney, and upon it is placed the memorial cross to which a procession of clergy and laity go on the Sunday nearest to 3 February every year to offer public intercessions and thanksgivings on behalf of Australia. It consisted of a nave 73ft x 15ft, and transepts 40ft x 15ft, the materials being a framework of wood wattled, i.e. interwoven with tea-tree and daubed with clay, the roof being of grass-rushes. Hence the old English verb, "to wattle," gave its popular name to the golden acacia bloom which has become the national flower of Australia, the wood and foliage of these trees having been worked into this primitive house of God. Its accommodation, according to the chaplain, was for 500 worshippers, and it had its holy table, font, prayer-desk, and pulpit. In the construction Johnson took a personal part, as well as being the architect, and the sketch of the building shows it was not without a simple, rough dignity. On Sunday, 25 August 1793, the first service in it took place, and it was also used for a school that the chaplain organized. The modest claim for the actual expenses in building the church was apparently pigeon-holed, and the account remained unpaid until Governor Hunter called attention to it four years after it had been rendered.

The new Governor, having a more seemly sense than his predecessors of the need for a due observance of religion, issued instructions that "the overseers of the different gangs do see their men mustered every Sunday morning, and that they do attend them to church." But this had an unexpected consequence, for on the night of 1 October 1798, about a couple of months after the order had been given, the church was burnt down, and there appears to be no doubt that it had been maliciously destroyed. The offer of a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of the sacrilege proved fruitless, but the Governor promptly had a large store temporarily fitted up for church services, so the incendiaries failed to achieve their purpose. Within a month Governor Hunter took steps to build a permanent church, but more than a decade passed before it was dedicated. At the same time the foundations were laid of a church for Parramatta, and this was used long before the one in Sydney. A Government and General Order of 1802 declares that "His Excellency is pleased to direct that in all spiritual, judicial, and parochial proceedings" the district of Sydney and its environs "be comprised within a parish to be henceforth named 'Saint Phillip' (*sic*) in honour of the first Governor of this territory, and that the districts of Parramatta, and its surroundings, be comprised within a parish to be henceforth named 'St John's,' in honour of the late Governor, Captain John Hunter, and the churches now building at Sydney and Parramatta to be respectively named Saint Phillip and Saint John." Thus were formed the two pioneer parishes of New South Wales.

Richard Johnson, besides being the first Australian chaplain, has the distinction of having published what must have been one of the first literary efforts (excepting, of course, the official correspondence with the Home authorities) that had birth in Australia. This was a pamphlet of seventy-four pages addressed by the chaplain as a pastoral appeal

to his flock after four years' work among them. The title page runs:

An Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies
established in New South Wales and Norfolk Island

By the Rev. Richard Johnson A.B.

Chaplain to the Colonies.

Written in the year 1792.

London.

Printed for the Author

MDCCXCIV

To all the inhabitants, and especially to the unhappy prisoners and convicts, in the colonies established at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, this affectionate address is dedicated and presented by their very sincere and sympathizing friend and faithful servant in the Gospel of Christ,

RICHARD JOHNSON

The address is remarkable as an unconscious revealing of deep piety, leading to a genuine love for souls, and yet quite frank in its condemnation of sin.

After twelve years of exile from England, Johnson returned to his native land together with Governor Hunter in 1800. Though only forty-seven years old, he had been a good deal broken down in health by the privations of his colonial life, and by want of support and sympathy in his work. He received scant recognition from the Mother Church when he asked for a post of duty, for all he got was an Essex curacy at West Thurcock on the Thames, and though he had made some money by his Australian farm and orchard, he certainly had not secured the fortune he is often said to have done. In 1810 he secured the living of St Antholin's, London, which was afterwards merged into St Mary Aldermary's, opposite the Mansion House Station in Cannon Street, and on the wall of this church there is this memorial: "To the memory of the Rev. Richard Johnson, B.A., who died March 13th, 1827, aged 74 years. He was the first, and for many years the only, Chaplain appointed to the extensive colony of New South Wales, and afterwards 17 years Rector of these Parishes, where he faithfully preached Christ and Him crucified."

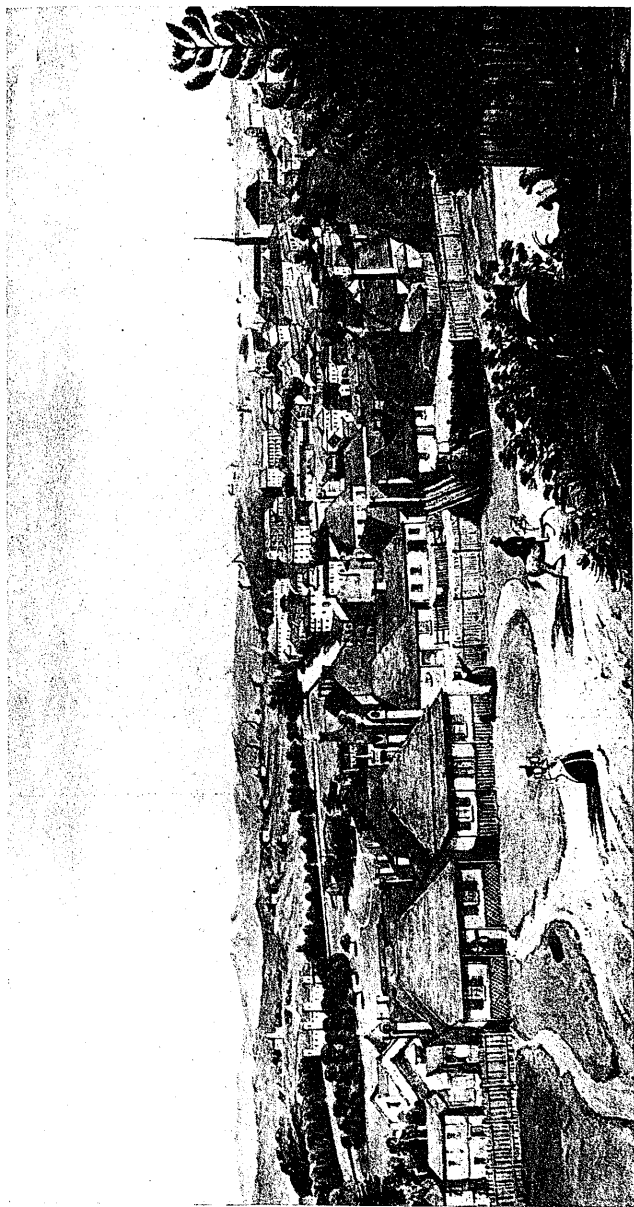
Four years later a record was added of the death of his wife at the age of seventy-eight. In Sydney Cathedral a dignified tablet has also been erected to commemorate Australia's first chaplain. But surely the finest testimony to Johnson was that of some of the convicts who declared that "they did not believe that there was so good a man beside in the world."

Six years before Johnson left New South Wales he had been joined, in 1794, by Samuel Marsden, as assistant-chaplain to the settlement. It is noteworthy that he, too, had been a pupil at the free grammar school of Kingston-upon-Hull (Joseph Milne, the ecclesiastical historian, being at the time head master) and, like Johnson, went as a sizar to Magdalene College, Cambridge. He had been a Methodist local preacher, and is said to have become interested in missionary work by reading Cook's *Voyages Round the World*. Born at Horsforth, near Leeds, the son of a tradesman of the village, he seems to have developed more than the ordinary independence of the northern Englishman, for when he was suggested for work in New South Wales, some doubted his fitness on this ground. He had attracted the notice of the evangelical Elland Society, which devoted itself to assisting the education of candidates for Holy Orders, and through its influence Marsden received help towards his university course, which he felt disinclined to give up. Finally he decided to take the Australian chaplaincy, sacrificing his degree, and was ordained deacon and priest in 1793. After marriage, he sailed for Australia on 1 July of the year of his ordination. Just before the ship entered Sydney Harbour a daughter was born to Mrs Marsden, and the child, upon reaching womanhood, became by her marriage closely identified with the church life of the colony.

Within a few years of beginning work in New South Wales there was directly brought under Marsden's attention the operations of the London Missionary Society in the

South Seas. Under fear of an outbreak among the natives of Tahiti, a number of the married L.M.S. missionaries fled to Sydney, where they were kindly received by Marsden, and one of them, Rowland Hassall, he put in charge of his private farm. When Thomas, a young son of Rowland Hassall, grew up he worked as a merchant's clerk in Parramatta, and helped the chaplain in his pastoral duties. He formed in his home the first Sunday-school set up in Australia, and Marsden took it over as part of his parochial organization. The chaplain encouraged his young helper to offer himself as a candidate for ordination and go to England for training. Thomas Hassall accordingly did so, and Marsden commended him to William Wilberforce, who warmly welcomed and helped the young man, who thus became the first to go from Australia to prepare for Holy Orders. He entered at Lampeter College, and after four years as a student, was ordained deacon and priest in the same year (1821) by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and at once started for Australia for work as an assistant chaplain under Marsden, whose daughter, born as the parents reached Sydney Heads, he married. In 1921 the Bishop of Goulburn (Dr Radford) in his diocesan magazine, referred to that year as being the centenary of the admission to Holy Orders of Thomas Hassall, who as chaplain, faithfully ministered for forty years to a large area, which included what ultimately became the Diocese of Goulburn. His son, who wrote *In Old Australia*, also took Orders, and in his book has much to say of his grandfather, Marsden, and of Bishop Broughton, who had visited him when he was working his chaplaincy and whom he held in high admiration and affection.

It goes without saying that Richard Johnson gladly welcomed the coming of a helper in his difficult and laborious ministerial duties. Marsden in many respects was a contrast to the first chaplain, both in his physical vigour and his readiness to contend strenuously for what he held to



VIEW OF SYDNEY IN THE FORTIES
From the original in the Mitchell Gallery, Sydney.

be right. He settled down to work at Parramatta, and on 5 April 1797, the foundation-stone of the pioneer permanent church building in Australia was laid and became the forerunner of the present handsome Norman church of St John, one of the most dignified in Sydney diocese to-day.

When Johnson went back to England in 1800, Marsden became senior chaplain, and went Home seven years later to bring the needs of New South Wales under the notice of the authorities. He took with him some Australian-grown wool, and urged the suitability of the colony for pastoral purposes, he having made successful experiments with sheep on his own farm at Parramatta. Thus through Johnson's cultivation of the orange, and Marsden's wool-growing, two most important Australian industries were considerably promoted by the earliest chaplains. While in England Marsden secured two clergymen, ordained specially for New South Wales, the Rev. William Cowper, who became the first Archdeacon of Sydney and the father of Sydney's first Dean, and the Rev. Robert Cartwright. In the ship in which he went back to the colony, at the end of 1809, the chaplain had as a fellow passenger a Maori chief named Duaterra,² and became so deeply interested in what he heard of New Zealand, that he took the chief to Parramatta as his guest for several months. As a consequence of this intercourse, Marsden decided upon a missionary journey to the islands, forming the present great Dominion, but which were not then under the English Crown. On 15 December 1814, he reached the coast of the islands, and after a few days, on the festival of Christmas, conducted a service for which his friend Duaterra had made the arrangements, and at which he acted as interpreter of Marsden's sermon from the text so appropriate to the season and the circumstances: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy" (St Luke, ii, 10). Ten Maori chiefs went with the chaplain upon his return to New South Wales, and

² S. M. Johnstone, *Samuel Marsden*, p. 80f. (Sydney, 1932).

subsequently he made six other trips to Maoriland, extending up to 1837, and upon this last occasion the natives are reported to have said: "We wish to have a long and steadfast look at our old friend, for we shall never see him again." Crowds of them went to his embarkation and wished him farewell with tears and prayers. He well deserves the distinction popularly given to him, "The Apostle of New Zealand." After forty-five years of laborious service, during which he had seen New South Wales advance first to an archdeaconry, under the Bishop of Calcutta and subsequently to an independent see, Marsden died on 12 May 1838, when seventy-four years old, at the parsonage, Windsor, New South Wales, whither he had gone in feeble health for rest, and he lies buried in the graveyard of the parish of St John's, Parramatta, of which he was practically the founder. Bishop Broughton, in a public reference to the veteran chaplain's death, spoke of him as his "aged and faithful companion, whose genuine piety and natural force of understanding I held in the highest esteem while he lived, and still retain them in sincerely affectionate remembrance." A fine Celtic cross was placed in 1907 on the spot at Oiki on the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, where Marsden held his historic service in 1814, an event commemorated by the Church in the Dominion with much earnestness when its centenary occurred. Other memorials of him are in the parish church of Parramatta, and in the church of his native village in Yorkshire, and the Church of All Saints, North Parramatta, is especially associated with his memory.

With the death of Marsden an altered and more ecclesiastical system of church administration was introduced into the colony. There are still many people who think of William Grant Broughton as the first Archdeacon of New South Wales, but this was not so. When the affairs of the colony had drifted into a parlous condition, mainly, it was said, through the high-handed autocracy of the naval and

military administrators who reigned supreme until 1824, the Home Government sent out in 1819 J. T. Bigge, an Oxford graduate and an English barrister who had been Chief Justice in Trinidad, as a royal commissioner at a salary of £3000 a year to report upon "the state of the judicial, civil, and ecclesiastical establishments, revenue, trade, and resources" of the settlement. Lord Bathurst's orders to the Commissioner, *inter alia*, recited: "You are to turn your attention to the possibility of diffusing throughout the Colony adequate means of education and religious instruction, bearing always in mind in your suggestions that these two branches ought in all cases to be inseparably connected." It would have been indeed well for Australia if these sound views of the then Secretary for the Colonies had become an unaltering part of Australian policy. The Commissioner took with him as his secretary, receiving £500 per annum, Thomas Hobbes Scott, M.A. (Oxon.), a brother-in-law of the Earl of Oxford, through whose influence, probably, he had seen diplomatic service at one of the British consulates in the Mediterranean. Scott's father was curate in charge of Kelmscot, a chapelry in the parish of Broadwell in the Oxford diocese. The son did not enter at St Alban's Hall until he had reached his thirtieth year, in 1813. Bigge left England for New South Wales with his secretary in 1819, and his task occupied him for two years. He embodied its results in three separate reports (in the compilation of which it is known that Scott gave much assistance) and in the one dealing with religion, the Commissioner said he "found clergymen in Sydney, Parramatta, Hobart Town, etc., acting without concert, subject to no ecclesiastical direction, and under no spiritual head but the Bishop of Calcutta in India, and His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in England." He therefore urged the "nomination of an archdeacon in New Holland." The English Government adopted the suggestion, and Bigge's recommendation of his secretary, Scott, for the post also

met with approval. The nominee, having returned to England and been duly admitted to Holy Orders, served the parish of Whitfield, Northumberland, for about a couple of years, and then on 5 April 1824, received his commission as "Archdeacon of New South Wales."

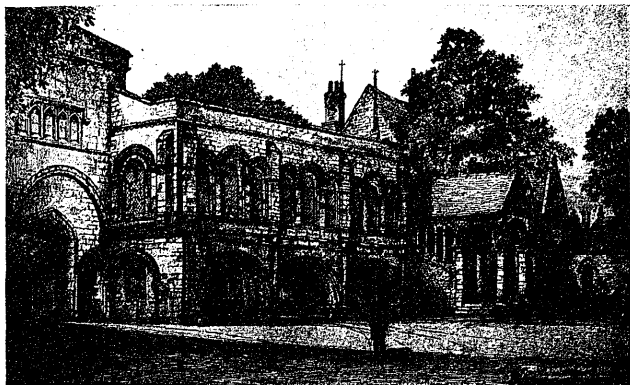
The saintly Reginald Heber was Bishop of Calcutta when the archdeaconry of New South Wales was founded, and on his voyage out to India, writing of the influence of the sea, adds: "on which so large a part of my future life must be passed, more particularly if I carry my Australasian visitation into effect." But Heber died at the end of April 1826, and as Archdeacon Scott did not reach Australia till May of the previous year, there probably was little, if any, intercourse between them. When the tidings of Bishop Heber's death reached Sydney a memorial service took place in St James's Church, which the Governor officially attended.

Archdeacon Scott voyaged to New South Wales in the convict transport *Hercules* which carried 133 prisoners and detachments of the 41st and 46th Regiments. Upon his arrival on 7 May 1825, the Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, issued a commendatory proclamation. Letters patent had been duly issued, together with a consequent dispatch of Lord Bathurst to the Governor of New South Wales.³ These documents deserve attention because of some of their unique provisions as well as for their historic place in the development of the religious life of Australia. The Archdeacon also became an *ex officio* member of the Governor's Executive Council, and of the nominee Legislative Council.

A little more than a month after his landing the Archdeacon, in St James's Church on 9 June 1825, held his primary visitation. Of the Archdeacon's charge the *Sydney Gazette* gives what it calls a "bare epitome" as follows:

The interesting nature of the occasion—the paramount importance of the duties devolving on the clergy: the peculiar excellence of the doctrine, the discipline, and the ritual of the hierarchy. These

³ See Appendixes 1 and 2.



THE KING'S SCHOOL, CANTERBURY



FARNHAM PARISH CHURCH

topics were discussed in an able manner and in a temperate spirit. The Ven. speaker evidenced an entire freedom from shackles of bigotry. He unreservedly conceded to others the rights which he claimed for himself and his colleagues—the rights of conscience. He communicated the gracious intention of His Majesty to divide the Colony into compact parishes, and to prosecute the work of education on a more liberal and comprehensive system than that which had hitherto been pursued.

The Archdeacon, as is evident from his reports and the records of his work, was clearly a man of considerable capabilities. His power of organization is shown in his first report to the Colonial Secretary, made soon after reaching Australia; but within a year of entering upon his office, he wrote a mournful account of his surroundings to the Bishop of London, in which he says: "I will not hold out vain hopes which I am confident cannot be realized in our time, and the utmost I can expect is to lay the foundation. The mass of the population here is vicious to an extreme, and for some years past and even at this moment all society, with few exceptions, is too bad and too horrid to have anything to do with." Yet though the moral tone of the colony certainly seems from contemporary records to have been decidedly bad, the first archdeacon appears, mainly from his want of tact and his autocratic temperament, to have been ill-fitted widely to influence it. After only four years' tenure he resigned the archdeaconry in 1828, and returned to the incumbency of the Northumberland parish, where he began his clerical career, and which he had left in charge of a locum tenens. He was dignified later on with an honorary canonry in Durham Cathedral, and lived till 1860. A window in Sydney Cathedral commemorates his association with Australia.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM GRANT BROUGHTON'S ENGLISH LIFE

THE first (and only) "Bishop of Australia," exercising jurisdiction over the whole of the island continent, together with Tasmania, and ultimately New Zealand also, came from that great English middle class which has supplied so much of power and leadership to all departments of our Imperial life. His father, Grant Broughton, who had associations with Hertfordshire, in which Hatfield, the ancestral home of the Cecils, is situated, had won the esteem of the Marquess of Salisbury. Of the future bishop's paternal uncles, one held office as Paymaster-General at Bombay, and another became an Admiral of the Fleet. His mother was the daughter of Mr John Rumball of Barnet, Herts, and William Grant Broughton, her eldest son, was born in Bridge Street, Westminster, on 22 May 1788, the year in which the first white settlers landed on the Australian continent, where the Bishop did his life's work. At his baptism in St Margaret's, Westminster, he had as sponsors his grandfathers and the Countess of Strathmore. When he was six years old his family removed to Barnet, his mother's birthplace, and the boy received his early training in the local grammar school, of which he spoke with affection when he visited the country town forty years later. At nine years old Broughton went to the King's School, Canterbury, boarding at the house of the second master, the Rev. John Francis, whose daughter he married in Canterbury Cathedral twenty years afterwards. He became a King's Scholar at the end of his first year in Canterbury, and stayed

at the school for seven years, when he gained an exhibition at Cambridge and greatly desired to qualify for Holy Orders. But financial reasons made this then impracticable, as the death of his father had cast upon him some responsibility in connexion with the support of his mother. He therefore accepted the offer, secured through his father's friend, Lord Salisbury, of a clerkship in the treasury department of the East India House. Writing to his aged mother from Sydney in June 1852, just prior to his final trip to England, Broughton revived his sense of obligation to the Marquess: "I am going to-day to have a guest at dinner, whose name will perhaps surprise you. It is Lord Robert Cecil,¹ second son of the present Marquess of Salisbury. . . . I could not help thinking how strange is the course of events which brings one of that family to my house: and I think that my having the honour of being able to receive and entertain him on terms of equality may lawfully gratify you, and make some little return for the exertions and sacrifices which you and my dear father made to give me education, and to prepare me for the situation in which I am." It is clear that Broughton, like so many other distinguished men, had the advantage of a good mother. In a speech at a S.P.G. meeting he referred to her as "her to whom I owe all things." More than ten years before he wrote to her the letter from which an extract has just been quoted, in speaking at a dinner to his friend, Judge Burton, on his return to Sydney from England, where the Judge had realized one of the longings of his life in once again seeing his mother, the Bishop said: "I too have left a mother whom I am most probably never again to see in this life. But I will add that I should behold the dawn of each returning day with less tranquillity, I should enter upon the duties of it with less confidence of fulfilling them with success, if I did not know that three times in the course of every day the prayers of a venerable mother, wholly devoted to the offices of her re-

¹ Afterwards the great Prime Minister of England.

ligion, were offered up for me and mine and for all the undertaking that I am engaged in." But the Bishop was granted the privilege which he did not dare to hope for upon his reaching England in 1853.

After nearly ten years in the English Civil Service the way became clear, through the bequest of £1000 from a relative, for the future bishop to follow the career he early desired, and he returned to Canterbury to read with his friend, the Rev. H. J. Hutchisson, a Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. In 1814 he entered at Pembroke Hall, at the age of twenty-six, and came out sixth wrangler. Among his university friends was William Hutchins, who in Broughton's year graduated thirteenth wrangler, and when the latter became bishop eighteen years afterwards he made his fellow undergraduate the first Archdeacon of Hobart. It was while at Pembroke that Broughton contracted the lameness that compelled him ever after to walk with a stick. An undergraduate (who afterwards achieved distinction) played some practical joke that caused Broughton to fall heavily down a staircase, and did the lifelong mischief. The author of the injury had to pay the penalty of rustication for eighteen months, as appears from an entry in the college orders book. Soon after he had graduated in January, 1818, Broughton, in his thirtieth year, was made deacon by the Bishop of Salisbury upon letters dismissory from Bishop Tomline of Winchester (who ordained him priest in the same year) upon the title of the curacy of Hartley Wespall, Hants, and the notable head master of Eton, Dr Keate, came to the incumbency of the living while the future bishop ministered there. In the year of his ordination Broughton married Miss Sarah Francis. They had three children, a son, who died in his babyhood, and two daughters who went out to Australia with their parents, and were the first two candidates the Bishop confirmed at his primary Confirmation. They both married in Australia.

While at Hartley Wespall, Broughton did some scholarly

literary work. Upon the appearance of the anonymous treatise *Palaeoromaica*, which advocated the hypothesis that the text of the Elzevir Greek Testament was a translation from a lost Latin original, he published a reply covering more than 300 pp. oct. in support of the orthodox view that the "Textus Receptus" comes to us through the Greek. With much logical and close reasoning, bristling with quotations in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and supported by manifold references to patristic and classical writers, he contends that the exploded conjecture of Hardouin that the Vulgate is the first record of the Apostolic writers and the Greek Text but a translation from it, is equalled in temerity and unwarranted assumption by the hypothesis of *Palaeoromaica*. Having finished his textual controversy, in the next year, 1826, Broughton entered the lists in a discussion then current as to the authorship of *Ikon Basilike*, that marvellous monograph published in 1648, which went through fifty editions in its first year. The Hampshire curate championed the view that the Caroline bishop wrote the book, and so he joined issue against those who contended that Charles I had himself produced it as the result of his religious meditations while a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle.

Broughton's learned adventures in literary controversy attracted the attention of his Bishop, who secured for him a transfer from the curacy of Hartley Wespall, after eight years' service, to that of Farnham, in Surrey, in 1827, and is said to have designed him for further advancement. But while in Hampshire he had also come under the favourable notice of the Duke of Wellington (Strathfieldsaye being only a mile from Hartley Wespall) through the Duke's domestic chaplain, Mr Briscall, who formed a close friendship with the scholarly curate. The first important consequence of the friendship was the offer by the Duke of the chaplaincy of the Tower of London to Mr Broughton about a year after his removal to Farnham. Lord Phillimore in his

Ecclesiastical Law, says: "The chaplain of the Tower of London performs the duties of a parochial minister to the garrison"; and he has a residence within the precincts, and is "under the orders of the Constable of the Tower through the resident Governor." Broughton's name appears in the muster roll of the Tower chaplains under the year 1828, but there is no further reference in the records to him. He can only just have entered upon the office, for before the end of the year of his appointment, 1828, the Duke of Wellington submitted to him the proposal that he should succeed the first Archdeacon of New South Wales, Thomas Hobbes Scott.

Immediately the new sphere was suggested to him, Broughton wrote the subjoined letter:

Farnham, October 27, 1828

MY DEAR MOTHER,

Mr Briscall (domestic chaplain to the Duke of Wellington) came over this morning from Strathfieldsaye with a proposal to me from the Duke of Wellington which has occasioned us very great surprise, and conflict of feelings. The Archdeaconry of New South Wales is vacant, and the Duke wishes to confer it upon me as the person whom from his acquaintance with me he thinks most proper to fill it. The salary allowed by Government is £2000 a year, besides other great local advantages. The period which I should be required to be absent from England would be five years after which, of course, a retiring pension would be allowed, or preferment from Government given for my future support in this country. In point of pecuniary advantage it certainly is a most noble offer on the part of the Duke, and such as I could never have raised my thoughts to: and it would seem to be an opening made to a scene of usefulness in my profession where I might exert to the utmost such abilities as God has given me for His service. At the same time, to leave one's country and to go to such a distance from all that we honour and love, calls for a sacrifice which we can neither of us make without almost breaking our hearts. We wish very much for your advice and opinion. If you can borrow the 73rd number of the *Quarterly Review* published last January you will find in the first article a pretty full account of New South Wales and its inhabitants. I am not to make up my mind for a week, and earnestly desire before doing so to have your advice and to act with your approbation. Pray let me hear as soon as you have considered. It is a most important and serious undertaking either to accept or refuse, and as yet I cannot tell

which way my mind inclines. We are all quite well, and hope to hear as favourable an account of you. God bless you, my dear Mother,

I am,

Ever your very affectionate Son,
W. G. BROUGHTON.

Writing again to his mother on 2 November 1828, he says:

After considering maturely the proposal of the Duke of Wellington I have this day come to a decision that I ought to accept it; that in point of duty I am bound to do so. In fact I find that if I were to decline it merely from regard to our own case, I should probably never be satisfied with myself again but I should always reproach myself with having shrunk from an office of so much importance as this is. To-morrow therefore I go to Strathfieldsaye to intimate to the Duke my acceptance of the archdeaconry, and to return him my thanks for the high honour he has done me. From the Bishop of Winchester I learn that the great distance of the Bishop of Calcutta, who is my only superior, will prevent his interfering or superintending: so that I must have the entire direction. In consequence of this, he says, I shall be obliged to return to England before the end of five years to communicate with the Government here, so that in reality our actual absence cannot be above three or four years at the utmost. There is nothing, my dear Mother, to prevent us hoping to meet at that time, under the blessing and protection of God in Whose service I am going, in health and happiness. In the meantime, my first call must be to provide for your comfort while we are away.

Broughton, as the foregoing letter says, had consulted his Bishop as to whether he should accept the post offered him, and subsequently it was known that he made his final decision in the episcopal chapel at Winchester after receiving the Holy Communion from the Bishop's hands. From a letter of two days' later date, it is evident that his mother concurred in his decision, for he writes to her:

Your letter was very gratifying to me as it informed me of your approbation of my determination. I waited on the Duke at Strathfieldsaye yesterday to communicate what I had decided, and must say I was received by him in the kindest manner. He spoke highly of the appointment and of the country, and appeared pleased with my readiness to go. But he said that previously to determining I ought to be aware of every circumstance, and that he had therefore written to ascertain what pension would be allowed me

on retirement, or to my family in the event of my death, and he would not consider my acceptance final, he said, till these points were settled. Just now I have received a letter from him, which he sent over by a messenger, to say that he learns from the Secretary of State that there is no pension on retirement to be allowed to me, or to my family in case of my death. In reply I have told him that personally I should be as willing as ever to engage in the office, and to leave my own claims on retirement to the consideration of Government but that having a wife and children who must share in the difficulties and dangers, I am bound to consider what their condition under the circumstances would be were I to die at such a distance from home. I, therefore, hoped that His Grace will pardon my asking for time to consider, and to advise with my friends. My intention is to think well upon the matter to-night, and to-morrow to wait upon the Duke again with my answer. My present impression is that unless some arrangements could be made on behalf of my family if I should die there, I should be acting unjustly towards them in going on so distant and perhaps dangerous expedition: and that I shall say to His Grace that under the circumstances I must prefer holding the chaplaincy to the Tower which he so obligingly conferred upon me. I am sorry to throw you again into suspense but you shall hear from me the very moment I can put an end to it. We are all well but of course much agitated and perplexed by these vicissitudes.

Ultimately, Broughton agreed to take the archdeaconry upon qualified terms laid down by the Government, but that he did so with much anxiety appears from a letter in reply to one from his friend, the Rev. H. H. Norris:

You are quite right in saying that there is no ground for congratulation on my appointment. I see the whole extent of the prospect before me, and shadows and darkness rest upon it; but after the fullest consideration I could give to the question, it did not appear to me that I could decline a post to which Providence seemed to have led me without subjecting myself to self reproach as backward and fearful in our Master's service. Whether I have chosen rightly, or have taken a step which prudence cannot justify, events may to some extent determine: but I have always the consolation of knowing that the final judgment to be passed upon it will be one in which, I humbly trust, success or failure will not so much be the points inquired into, as the motives by which I have been guided, and the fidelity with which I have sought to fulfil the duties I have undertaken.

You have taken what appears to me to be the truest view of the relation in which the maintenance of the Church of England stands to the present and future happiness of mankind: and it is truly in the hope of recommending such views that I am going

to what I know and feel to be a banishment. On account of my dear children I should have been thankful to have been spared the necessity of removing to an untried country: but such being the appointment of God, I say unfeignedly—May His Will be done.

The Duchess of Wellington, in a cordial letter to the archdeacon-designate, wrote: "I will begin this letter as I conclude most of those which I write to my real friends—God bless you. Whether at a distance from your country, or at home still and always—God bless you."

The decisive determination having thus been reached, there followed speedy preparations for the new life.

Broughton had been preaching to his Farnham parishioners a series of sermons on the Apostles' Creed, and on Holy Innocents Day, 1828, he concluded the course, taking as his text I Cor. xv, 44, in a farewell address, in which he made reference to his approaching departure from England: "For myself," he said, "let me with truth of heart, assure those whom I here, for the last time, call my friends and brethren, that never shall I hear mention made of those among whom I have ministered, without having the recollection excited of many a cherished regard, and of a period through which we passed in much true Christian fellowship. Never will the name of this our dwelling place reach my ears without reminding me that my supplications to the Throne of Grace are due on behalf of all who continue to inhabit here."

The Farnham people presented him with a piece of plate as a memento of his ministry among them, and in acknowledging the gift, to the chairman of the testimonial committee, its recipient showed his strong affection for the flock he was leaving. "To the end of my life," he said, "I shall contemplate their gift with pleasure and pride." His diocesan, Bishop Richard Sumner, who had succeeded to the See of Winchester, presented Mr Broughton with a private set of silver altar vessels, which many years later he gave for use in the little church of St Mary's Albyn

River, some 150 miles from Sydney, where a married daughter, Mrs Boyde, had her home. It was from the Albyn River estate that one of Bishop Broughton's rochets, now in Sydney Cathedral, found its way to an official resting-place in the diocese.

Broughton's work as a parochial clergyman having come to an end, his thoughts must have centred upon the then almost unknown land thousands of miles across the seas. It is not easy in the twentieth century with its fast steamers that practically annihilate distance and thereby destroy much of the sense of separation and exile, to enter into the immense demand upon faith and courage made by the prospect of working under such conditions; but it was characteristic of the future bishop's Spartan-like devotion to his conception of duty that having decided to undertake the task he faced it with unflinching calmness.

There is preserved in the Diocesan Registry at Sydney the original diary kept by Archdeacon Broughton from the time he sailed from England until he landed in New South Wales. Some extracts from this historic record will show how cheerless were the surroundings of the Archdeacon and his party as they journeyed to their new home. The diary begins:

1829. On Tuesday May 26th I embarked from Sheerness on board the *John*—transport, 440 tons—with my wife, our two children, and Samuel and Hannah Hatton, our servants. The ship was commanded by Mr Robert Norsworthy; and had on board 185 male convicts, besides a crew of 32 men and boys, and about 30 soldiers (detachments of various regiments) under the command of Lieut. Forbes, 89th Regt. Mr Love, surgeon R.N., had the medical superintendence of the prisoners. Our embarkation was delayed several days by the prevalence of a very strong gale from the N.E. which had little abated when we left the shore. By the kindness of Vice-Admiral Sir Bryan Martin, Comptroller of the Navy, we were furnished with a large six-oared cutter belonging to the dock yard, which conveyed us safely to the vessel at the Little Nore—though the swell of the sea rendered the operation somewhat formidable. Such indeed was the state of the weather that two steam packets, one bound to Margate and the other—the *King of the Netherlands*—to Ostend, finding it impracticable to proceed beyond the Nore, ran into Sheerness Harbour, where we left them. We had not

been a quarter of an hour on board the *John* before we were all affected with sea-sickness; and we retired to our first night's repose dispirited and uncomfortable.

May 27th. At high water this morning we weighed anchor and were under sail by about half past seven: The operations attendant on this manoeuvre would, I have no doubt, be interesting in a well-appointed ship, and with a crew of able seamen. But the crew of our vessel were apparently without experience or concert—many of them ignorant even of the meaning of the orders that were issued—while the crowded state of the decks, the sight of the prisoners in chains, and of the soldiers loitering about, neither able or willing to render assistance, rendered our departure a scene of tumult and confusion. Our pilot did not spare his reproaches, but he understood his trade, and expressed himself well satisfied with the performance of the ship itself. The wind was about E.N.E. and our progress consequently slow. We came to an anchor in the afternoon opposite a mark on the Essex coast, which the seamen called "Black Tail Beacon." In the night the wind blew with much fury, and the motion of the ship was very distressing. Our Captain during the day had been speaking of the danger of losing an anchor and cable and being obliged to put back, which I know had happened to several vessels the day before. There was, I believe, no real danger, but knowing that we were surrounded on all sides by sands and shallows, I could not help considering, as I lay awake, what I might expect my sentence to be if it should please Almighty God this very night to require my soul. My mind was tranquil; and I was in consequence somewhat dissatisfied with myself; being distrustful whether it might not be the effect of insensibility rather than the fruit of a true faith and a well grounded hope.

May 28th. At high water this morning we again weighed anchor. The wind still E.N.E. and boisterous. It was nearly 2 o'clock before we passed the North Foreland. As we ran along the coast, I had distant views of Herne Bay, Reculver, Margate and Ramsgate, places with which I had been familiar since infancy. Indeed had the nature of the land allowed it, there was nothing in the actual distance to prevent our seeing the towers of Canterbury Cathedral, beneath the shade of which my early years were passed, and within whose venerable walls I was united to the dear and excellent wife who is my companion and comforter in this voyage. In the Downs our pilot left us; and we proceeded rapidly before the breeze, which was now favourable. The view of Dover with its town castle, cliffs and shipping in the Roads, seen under a bright afternoon sun, was truly magnificent, more so, I believe, than anything I had ever seen. We soon came in sight of and as soon passed by Dungeness Lighthouse. It is either built of brick or is coloured red, which renders it a very conspicuous object in the setting sun. As long as it remained visible, I kept my eyes fixed upon it, and when it at last disappeared in the waves, felt very acutely the taking leave of a country in which I had both enjoyed and suffered very much; and in which we left many dear friends and connections.

May 29th. We had a rapid run during the night, having passed by the coast of Hampshire, the birthplace of all my children, and where the remains of our beloved and ever regretted boy are buried—at our sweet Hartley; where if it please God, and should be possible, I would wish to rest by him. In the morning we were between St Aldate's Head and the Race of Portland, and we had hopes of speedily clearing the Channel. Here, however, the wind died away and our progress was at an end. The surface of the sea became smooth as glass. The steersman lashed the helm fast, leaving the ship to her own discretion. I cannot say to the mercy of the winds and waves; for there were neither. There was however a continual bubbling swell from below, just sufficient to give the ship a see-saw motion which we felt to be most distressing.

May 30th. The calm continued all night; and a very miserable night we passed. Independently of the motion of the ship, the noises which accompany this state of wearisome inaction are truly harrowing to the feelings, and destructive of repose. Through the live long night it appeared as if every particular board, spar and rope was endued with the faculty of creaking, cracking, croaking and groaning; and the complication of sounds produced, is indeed "the variety of wretchedness." This day John Hunt, one of the prisoners, having been found guilty of striking the officer of the watch was sentenced to be kept in handcuffs, and to receive three dozen lashes. I was happy in being able to intercede for the remission of the latter portion of his punishment. He is, I fear, a confirmed rogue as this, I am informed, is the second conviction he has suffered, and he is in consequence transported for life. However, my purpose was by this beginning to shew the prisoners I felt an interest for them, and thus to acquire an influence which may be turned to better purposes.

Under date 12 June, while the *John* was in the grip of a dead calm, Broughton's entry is:

I will take advantage of this interval to describe a convict ship. On each side of the poop, as well as in front of the binnacle, we have coops containing fowls, ducks, and guinea hens, and abaft the cuddy sky-light is a large pen filled with ducks and geese. The intermediate spaces are occupied by sailors refitting yards and sails, and in the front are four privates and a corporal on guard with their loaded muskets lying near. Below on the quarter deck, opposite to each other, are two unhappy wights, convicts afresh convicted of having towed their clothes alongside for the purpose of washing and suffered them to go adrift, which on the score of cleanliness, as they embarked with only two changes of linen each, is much to be lamented. For this offence they are set in handcuffs and fetters and condemned to twenty-four hours bread and water. About the deck lie the soldiers off guard, some asleep, others employed in various occupations. Two sentries with drawn bayonets parade the deck. From the barricade which goes athwart the ship just afore

the mainmast to the forecandle, the prisoners are situated, some sitting idle on the spars and spare booms, others cooking, washing, walking or sleeping as inclination leads. They appear neither discontented, dejected, nor sullen, and are in general very far from noisy. In their behaviour I find them universally respectful, though their characters are in general very unfavourable, most of them having been more than once or even twice convicted and sentenced. Add to this four or five women belonging to the soldiers and intermingled with them, the crying of a child or two, the quacking of ducks, cackling of geese and fowls, and the harsh grating cry of the guinea hens and you will have a fairly complete picture of all that is to be seen and heard on board of a convict ship.

The diary is much occupied by Broughton's criticisms of some of the books he had carried with him for his reading on the voyage, but there is no space for these interesting comments. The final entries, therefore, must suffice.

Sept. 7-10. Fresh breezes, afterwards more moderate and cloudy with rain. No occurrence worthy of notice; but the expected termination of our voyage occasions us some anxiety. But I know not how it is, separation from friends and country have so entirely exhausted our feelings that we have none left apparently to be excited by whatever event. The prospect of being soon delivered from a state of irksome confinement occasions no sensation of joy: where we are going there are none of those whom we desire to see or whom we have been accustomed to love and value. In all this country there is but one person whom I have ever seen before, and that only once or twice as a new acquaintance within the last few months. *Eheu: Deus adsit: Deus adjuvet.*

September 12. The land about Jervis Bay was this day visible, W. about four leagues. Its appearance is inhospitable and the only enlivening appearance is that of numerous columns of smoke arising at intervals along the shore which seem to declare that we are approaching the habitations of men once again though perhaps they be not of civilised kind. At half past 8 this evening as we were drinking tea the chief officer came down to report the welcome news that we had made the beacon light which is at the entrance of Port Jackson. I went upon deck in the hope of also seeing this gratifying sight but my eyes could not reach it though some more practised in observation professed that they could see it appearing and disappearing at intervals. Not being able to sleep through the multitude of thoughts which crowded upon my mind I rose soon after midnight and looked towards the direction of the land. To my surprise we had neared it so much during the last few hours that I could accurately distinguish its long outline until it faded away in the distant darkness. We were now nearly abreast the South Head on which the light-house stands. The light is revolving, exceedingly regular, bright and steady. I looked at it a long time with a mixed

and kind of mysterious feeling of wonder and thankfulness. It seemed to be the first friend to welcome us to land and to assure us that the perils of our voyage are concluded. The situation is lofty and commanding and seems to imply that the people of the country to which this light is guiding us are capable of making great attempts and of succeeding in them. What an advance is this upon the conception and performances of the savage who not more than forty years ago perchance had his resting place upon that very spot.

September 13th. This morning we were at the entrance of the Heads but the wind first blew directly out of the harbour's mouth, and then fell to a dead calm. We see a small boat now and then passing to and fro within the port, but they pay no attention to us, and the pilot has not come off, though his station is immediately opposite to where we are lying. We have full leisure therefore to examine the frontiers of our appointed land of sojourn, disturbed only by the apprehension that as there is not a breath of wind and a strong swell sets upon the shore we may have some difficulty in keeping the ship off the rocks if the calm continues, the water being so deep as to render it almost impossible to anchor. The cliffs are lofty, composed of a yellow sandstone, with very deep weather stains, and the foliage and herbage which grow upon them appear stunted in growth and gloomy in colour. But for the light-house tower, which is of stone, and some adjacent white buildings scattered up and down the rock, the appearance of the whole would be dreary and cheerless. A little before eleven the pilot came on board, and took charge of the ship, with which however he can as yet do nothing. Apprehending that in the event of a breeze springing up there would be great interruption to the service on deck through the working of the ship, I assembled my congregation below—for the first time during the voyage—and preached from St Matthew vii, 13, endeavouring to make my sermon impressive to them, as being the last I should deliver, and our arrival and approaching separation effectual to awaken serious thoughts. God grant my purpose may in some degree at least be answered. As the service proceeded I perceived that the ship was making way through the water and the bustle heard from time to time on deck proved that the pilot was exercising his skill to bring us into port. On returning to the deck I was nevertheless surprised at the rapid progress we had made. A favourable breeze sprang up, I was told, shortly before noon, when we entered the Heads. We had now the town of Sydney directly before us, towards which we continued to steer, and at half past 1 cast anchor in Port Jackson opposite to Sydney Cove 108 days after our departure from Sheerness.

CHAPTER III

AT WORK AS ARCHDEACON (1829-33)

So forty years after the founding of the colony its second archdeacon, in his forty-first year, arrived to superintend the Church's work. It may well be imagined that as they sailed up the beautiful harbour of Sydney his heart, and his brave wife's, must have been wellnigh overcome by the strangeness of their new environment. They had left pleasant surroundings and many relations and friends in the Homeland, and Broughton seemed to have laid the foundation of what promised to be a prominent career. Now they had come to a country still in its infancy, without many of the comforts of civilization and, worse than all, with by far the largest part of its population made up of outlaws from civilized soil. Fortunately for themselves, and especially so in regard to the task to which he had given himself, the new archdeacon and his wife were not of those who look back, though the Archdeacon could not forbear from confiding to the concluding entries in his diary an expression of an intense sense of loneliness and anxiety as the ship approached Sydney. But no trace of depression was allowed to creep into the letter in which he, only a few days after landing, reported to his mother some of the earliest incidents of their Australian life. He writes:

You will be happy to hear of our having arrived through God's good providence in perfect health and safety at this our destination. We left Sheerness, as you are aware, on the 27th of May, and we arrived off the "Heads," Port Jackson, early on Sunday, September 13th, 1829. We had therefore been at sea 108 days, and after leaving the Lizard we saw no more land during that

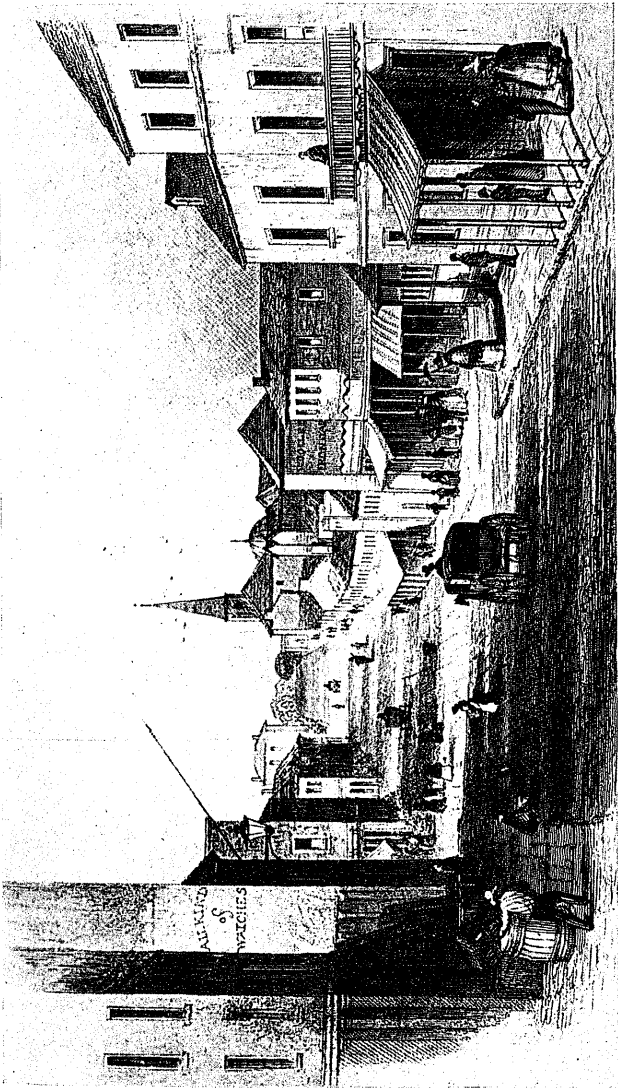
whole interval excepting what was said to be the island of Palma at 30 miles distant (which I should have taken for a cloud) and a distant view for a few hours of the coast of Van Diemen's Land the Sunday before our arrival here.

I had written a long account of our voyage, meaning to forward it by any ship we might fall in with bound to Europe. But strange to say we never had an opportunity, not having seen more than three vessels, within any moderate distance during all the passage, and those all outward bound.

I write by the present opportunity which is the first that has offered, although the ship is going a circuitous course and not direct to England, since there is a possible chance of you getting this letter sooner than you would do if I waited for another ship going direct to England. In the meantime I will only say that our voyage was neither much better nor much worse than voyages in general go. We had fine weather for nine weeks and a most prosperous passage to the Cape of Good Hope, but during the whole of the subsequent time I was very unwell and uncomfortable, after that the weather broke up and continued to be tempestuous all the rest of the way. We had a good captain, a very steady respectable surgeon, and a gentlemanly officer of the guard, and they were all of them particularly kind to the children. The convicts in general behaved well and gave very little trouble, but I think soldiers very much in the way on board ship, and our crew was a very bad one. Sally and the children bore the voyage better than I did, though all were occasionally sea-sick.

We found every one prepared to receive us with the greatest possible attention, and we had not been an hour at anchor before Colonel Dumaresq, the Governor's aide-de-camp and brother-in-law, came to congratulate us—and brought a present of fruit, vegetables, eggs, new bread, and fresh butter—none of which we had tasted for six weeks before. We found also an invitation from the Archdeacon to come to his house, and on the following day (Monday) we came here where we now are, and have been entertained by him in a most friendly and gratifying manner. I have engaged a house for a year only. We do not much like it, but there is no other to be had. The house is large and roomy enough though badly arranged, but the approach to it is rather difficult and there is no garden but a little miserable enclosure that is more like a sand pit. However we had no choice, and it was necessary we should have a place for our furniture, which we found all safely arrived and apparently not at all damaged, and we hope to take possession by the end of this week. In the course of a year we may meet with something we like better. The house has one recommendation, that of commanding the finest possible view of the grand sheet of water which you saw in the panorama, and indeed from a much more favourable point than was shown in that picture.

On the Wednesday after we came on shore I went, by myself, on board again in order to make my public landing. I had the Governor's barge, and the instant I set foot on shore there was a discharge of cannon from the forts (which for my own part



KING STREET, SYDNEY, IN THE FORTIES
(St James's steeple in the background.)

I would much rather have dispensed with) and I was received by the colonels of the regiments and their staffs, the Judges, Law officers, members of the councils, and all the first people of the colony. We went in procession to Government House where after my patent had been read, I was sworn into office by the Governor. On the Friday following the official installation, His Excellency invited the principal State officers and others to meet me at dinner. In short the attentions paid to us by every body are quite overwhelming. I have also taken my seat as a member of the Legislative Council, which is in fact the parliament of the country, and in the Executive Council, which is the Governor's privy council. I found them just entering upon a question which excites the greatest interest here, that is whether persons who have been transported to this country shall on the expiration of their sentences be capable of sitting on juries. . . . Archdeacon Scott will go home in the *Success* frigate, which is now gone to New Zealand but is expected shortly.

Archdeacon Broughton's letters patent only covered about a page and a half of parchment, as they principally consisted of references to the letters granted to his predecessor when the archdeaconry was founded in 1825. It has been said of these and other official documents associated with the founding of the Australian Church that they entirely ignore church authority. This is not altogether so. Archdeacon Scott's letters patent declare, *inter alia*, "And we do hereby signify to Our Right Trusty and well beloved The Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Calcutta that We have nominated the said Thos. Hobbes Scott to be Archdeacon of New South Wales and to be subject and subordinate during our pleasure to him and his successors." The dispatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Bathurst, to Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane, dated 21 December 1824, more strongly suggests that it might with greater propriety have been issued by the Archdeacon's spiritual superior, the Bishop of Calcutta, yet even this dispatch recites that where the letters patent of the Archdeacon are silent "the Canons and Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England will furnish the rules by which his conduct will be guided."

The new archdeacon did not take part in the services on

the Sunday following his arrival, which were probably associated with the departure of his predecessor. It was on Sunday, 27 September 1829, that Broughton preached his first Australian sermon, in St Philip's Church, from St John xv, 1-2, his predecessor saying the prayers. The Governor and a large body of military and civil officers, together with a full congregation of citizens were present. On Sunday, 4 October, the Archdeacon preached in St James's, and so on these successive Sundays he connected himself with the only two churches then built in Sydney. He then entered upon an inspection of the schools and other public institutions, including those at Parramatta, and afterwards went on a tour of some of the country centres, dedicating church buildings, consecrating cemeteries, and preaching sermons, including the assize sermon at Windsor.

The population of New South Wales was estimated at this time at 36,500 odd, of whom more than 17,000 were convicts. There was also a convict settlement with 200 prisoners and a military and civil staff at Norfolk Island, for whom no chaplain had been for many years appointed, though it had been for long a penal station, and Chaplain Johnson had visited it. One of the last acts of Archdeacon Scott had been to address a letter to the Home Government emphasizing the spiritual destitution prevailing throughout the archdeaconry.

Broughton's account of his earliest colonial days was given in an address at an S.P.G. meeting, after his final return to England, in which he said:

When I first reached that shore, forty-two years after the formation of the colony, there were eight churches and twelve clergymen in New South Wales. Melbourne was uninhabited, and South Australia in a similar state. In Van Diemen's Land there were four churches and six clergymen. The Rev. Samuel Marsden, at the risk of his life, and counting all things but loss for Christ's sake, had plunged into the darkness of New Zealand; and all that has extended, and all that now extends, there of knowledge of godliness, yea, and all that ever shall extend so long as time is, owes its beginning to his devotion.

In a few years, the wants and necessities of this rising world became truly fearful, yet nothing was done in England to add to the small number of officiating ministers, and the solitary superintendent of Australia and all the surrounding islands was an archdeacon nominally subject to the Bishop of Calcutta. I cannot give you a better idea of the size of this archdeaconry than by asking you to think of an archdeaconry having one church at St Alban's, another in Denmark, another at Constantinople with the Bishop at Calcutta, hardly more distant from England than from many parts of the archdeaconry of Australia, for indeed the case is in many ways similar. In point of fact, no human strength could bear the toil.

The Archdeacon held his primary visitation in St James's on Thursday, 3 December 1829, when there were present, in addition to the clergy, the Governor and a large congregation. The Rev. R. Hill, incumbent of the parish, said the prayers, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Joseph Docker, junior chaplain, from I Timothy iv, 6. The clergy then ranged themselves round the circular rails which surrounded the altar, at which the Archdeacon was seated during the delivering of his charge. Those who have only known St James's, Sydney, since it was transformed into the beautiful church it is to-day by the late Canon Carr Smith (afterwards of Grantham, Lincolnshire) during his notable Australian incumbency, can hardly realize its original Georgian dreariness. But the imagination of its reforming rector happily suggested to him to preserve the floor of the amazingly high pulpit, which was the church's most striking feature, and place it in its smaller but more artistic successor. And so preachers of later generations in St James's stand on the same boards from which Broughton and many others of the leaders of the early Australian Church prophesied.

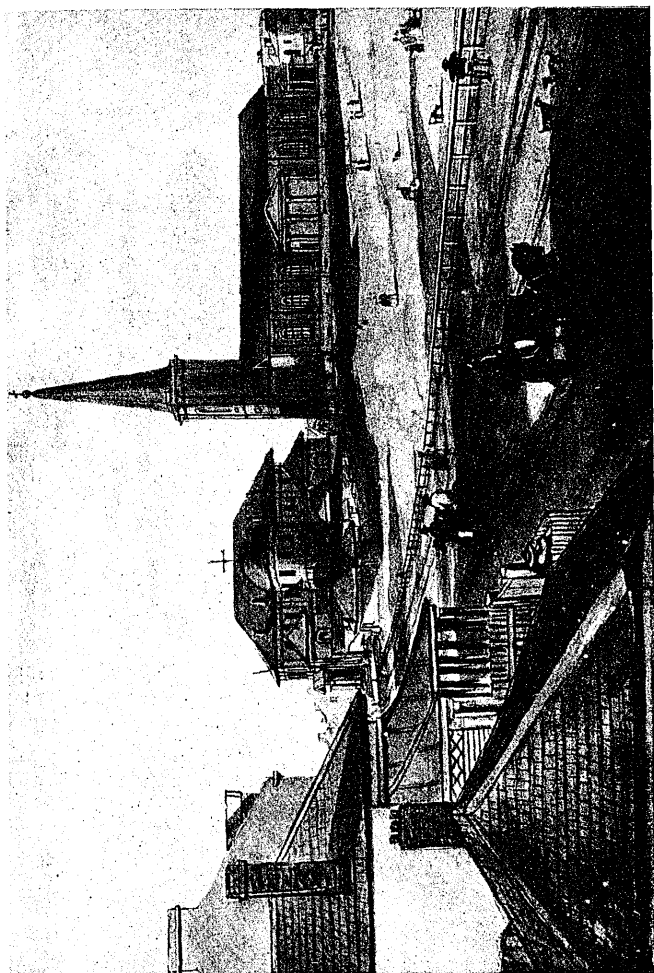
The Archdeacon's introduction to his primary charge deserves to be quoted as revealing the spirit that ever dominated his life and work—an awful apprehension of the responsibilities of the sacred ministry, and a keen sense of the imperious claims of duty. He said:

The ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God are pledged by engagements so awful, that every one of us by whom they are regarded with becoming seriousness must tremble, in his attempts to fulfil them, under a sense of his own insufficiency. Were we charged with only a personal responsibility, such a dread of falling short of the glory of God must be the natural consequence of due reflection on the disproportion subsisting between our feeble powers and the duty of a Christian teacher. No elaborate argument is needed to demonstrate with how much greater force this observation applies to the occupier of a station which imposes on him, in addition to his own proper ministerial charge, the superintendence of others in the fulfilment of their sacred duties. I speak not, believe me, my brethren, the language of insincerity or affectation in affirming that my own mind is even painfully sensible of the weight of this twofold obligation; and that two considerations alone enable one with any degree of confidence to undertake the duties with which I am here entrusted. The consciousness, I mean, of not having myself desired or sought the arduous post which has been assigned to me; and my assured belief that God, whose providence has conducted my steps, will give me grace and power, as I must earnestly and humbly beseech him he will, faithfully to take the oversight of his Church and rightly to divide the word of Truth unto all followers of Christ Jesus our Lord.

The Archdeacon proceeded from his devotional exordium to an insistence upon the cardinal necessity for religious instruction to be based upon a definite doctrinal basis. "It is in vain to expect men to make much advance in practical Christianity unless they have a distinct comprehension of the relation in which they stand to God in Christ . . . a relation to be so incorporated into all our teaching that the savour of the doctrine may be discernible even when it is not avowedly or specifically insisted upon."

Next followed admonitions to the clergy in reference to the discharge of their pastoral functions, both public and private, the practical suggestion being made that people resident in the outlying districts should be assisted in the observance of their religious duties by the circulation among them of literature such as that provided by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.¹ Much emphasis

¹ The local Government education policy was to introduce the Irish non-sectarian system, with Bible reading without note or comment.



ST JAMES'S CHURCH AND LAW COURTS, IN 1842
From the original in the Dixon Gallery, Public Library of New South Wales.

was laid by the Archdeacon upon the vital necessity for the Church discharging her responsibility to the young by supporting general education founded on the basis of revealed religion. "Upon any other system," he said, "the population of a country may acquire knowledge but not wisdom. The only reasonable hope which we can entertain of diffusing religious impressions and virtuous habits rests on the continuance of those parochial schools wherein, while the elements of instruction are liberally afforded, the youthful mind is trained 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord'." In further commenting upon the education question, the Archdeacon paid a warm tribute to his predecessor, Archdeacon Scott:

From an extensive acquaintance with what he designed and what he effected, I do not hesitate to express my persuasion that a man of purer intention, stricter principle, and less under the bias of self interest never trod these shores. I would wish, however, principally to connect his name with the praise of having designed, and through many difficulties brought near to perfection, that system of religious instruction in which I am persuaded the best hopes of this colony repose. Let not those who are enjoying the benefits of his labours grudge him a distinction which he has fairly and thoroughly earned. You, my reverend brethren, will not, I am certain, refuse to unite in this feeble but well deserved testimony, and in the expression of a wish that the virtual founder of our existing establishments for public education may to the end of his life enjoy the gratification of knowing that his exertions are duly appreciated, and that the monuments of his zeal in the service of God and man are extended and perpetuated by ours.

The two closing topics discussed in the primary charge were the possibilities for spiritual ministrations to the convicts, and to the aboriginal natives. As to the first, the clergy were reminded that,

all day must your hands be stretched forth to a disobedient and gainsaying people, under a conviction that as any human being is more involved in the snares of vice, the more earnest and unremitting must be our endeavour to make him sensible of his slavery, and to point out to him that only path by which he may return into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. We must seek them out, for they will hardly make the first advance, and endeavour to convince them that we take an interest in their restoration to

honesty and happiness; that we are solicitous for their eternal preservation; that far from entertaining towards them any sentiment of neglect or contempt, we are disposed for their sakes to labour if, peradventure through our teachings, God shall give them a knowledge of the Truth.

Many of those unhappy persons have erred less through settled malignity than pure ignorance or momentary weakness; many in deep repentance have been made sensible of their criminality and are ready upon the slightest encouragement to obey the call to return into "the way of life." Blessed is that man to be accounted the effect of whose labours as a minister of Christ is to give occasion for the joy which is in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.

In dealing with the Church's relation to the aborigines the Archdeacon threw out a vigorous challenge:

Shall we look on and see them perish without so much as an effort for their preservation? Natural, and much more Christian, equity points out that as in the occupation of their soil we are partakers of their "worldly things," so in justice should they be of our "spiritual things."

I am aware of attempts having been undertaken with this view; and their abandonment from a sense of existing difficulties, and despair of final success. But from the very nature of the undertaking obstacles were to be anticipated. Every advancement of the Christian religion, from its first origin to the present day, has been effected in opposition to difficulties which, in a natural sense, might be termed insuperable. Its excellency and its derivation from a heavenly source, have been best demonstrated by surmounting such opposition. It may be considered, after all, a very doubtful question whether the erratic habits and inconsiderate disposition of the native tribes are in reality more adverse to the reception of Christianity than those propensities which its earliest preachers had to encounter in the natives they addressed; the obstinate superstition of the Jew, and the philosophic arrogance of the Gentile. But suppose them to be so, what shall we say? Shall we therefore desist? Unhesitatingly I answer, No. Persevere as you regard the honour of God, and as you value the souls of these your helpless and unhappy fellow creatures. The very ground which we tread upon teaches us this lesson. What does it exhibit but the sublime spectacle of the triumph of civilized man over the ruggedness of the physical world? And shall the Christian philanthropist despair of having, in God's good time, an equal right to rejoice in the success of his exertions to produce a moral reform, and by spiritual civilization to reclaim this human wilderness which extends on every side of us? The feeling which I derive from difficulties in such a case and would communicate to those around me is animation and not despair.

The Archdeacon certainly maintained this attitude towards the problem of the Church and the aborigines throughout his Australian career.

In forwarding a copy of the Archdeacon's charge to the Colonial Secretary the Governor, Sir Ralph Darling, wrote: ". . . It will be satisfactory to you to receive this earnest assurance of the zeal with which he has commenced, and with which his character affords the best assurance he will continue, to discharge the duties of his sacred office. It may not be altogether irrelevant to add, and it is due to Mr Broughton that I should acquaint you, that he affords me on all occasions in his several situations as member of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council the most cordial assistance and co-operation in conducting the business of the Government."

The official entrance upon his work having been completed by his primary charge to the clergy, the Archdeacon, with characteristic energy, entered upon a programme of pastoral visits in Sydney and its surroundings, and then farther afield, of which he gives details in a letter to his mother.

We are all, many thanks to the Author of all mercies, perfectly well. The summer has upon the whole been very favourable, and certainly not hotter than many I have felt in England, excepting for an occasional day or two, and especially last Friday and the four following days. We had what is called "a hot wind" from the N. West, and certainly were nearly broiled. At the same time I do not find that it actually disagrees with us, except making the children look very pale, but for my own part my appetite, and general feeling of comfort are quite as great at such times as at others provided I am allowed to sit still. We have had a very plentiful supply of fruit of every kind and upon the whole I must say better ripened and flavoured than in England. . . . Soon after our last letters, by the *Vibilia*, were dispatched, I set out on my visitation, and went first to Parramatta, fifteen miles from here, where I was accommodated at a most clean and comfortable Inn. . . . From this place I went daily to visit the male and female orphan schools, to superintend the examination of the boys and girls preparatory to the distribution of rewards and prizes which takes place yearly in the church at Parramatta. After this I went across the country as far as the River Nepean, and after that to

the southward in the counties of Camden and Argyle. I was out ten days and travelled more than 300 miles. The roads are for the most part as good as those in England. Even those through "the Bush" as it is called (that is where the native timber trees have not been cleared away), are exceedingly good, and generally fit for a four-wheeled carriage to travel on. The great defect of the country is a sameness and tameness in its appearance, and a want of water. The latter is really quite distressing. . . . Nevertheless I was much pleased with what I saw, and can have no reason to doubt that this will be some day or other a rich flourishing and powerful country, that is if the people can ever be rendered honest and respectable. I had heard much of snakes and bush-rangers, but in all this distance I saw not one of the former, and only heard of the latter.

In February 1830, the Archdeacon voyaged in H.M.S. *Crocodile* to Van Diemen's Land for his first visitation of the island. He delivered a charge to the small body of chaplains, and also went through the parishes or districts, with St David's, Hobart Town, as his centre in the south, and St John's, Launceston, in the north, preaching in St David's on 28 February from the text St James i, 12. He made a second visitation three years later and on this occasion communicated, from Hobart Town, with the Rev. R. R. Davies of Longford, in the north of the island, and subsequently Archdeacon of Hobart for over a quarter of a century, that upon his approaching northern tour he would be prepared to admit to Holy Communion any who were "desirous" to be confirmed. The Archdeacon wrote:

If there be any young persons, not under fourteen years of age, willing to take upon them the "vows and promises made for them in Baptism," and whom upon examination you shall deem properly qualified, I shall be desirous, as I have before stated, of admitting them publicly to that engagement. Immediately after the Nicene Creed I should feel satisfaction in delivering an address to them, and in receiving their promises according to the form directed by the "Order of Confirmation" omitting only the imposition of hands and the collect having reference to it. After this I should propose to administer the Holy Communion to such of these young persons as may have beforehand declared to you their disposition to become partakers, and of whose fitness you may be satisfied. At the same time, of course I am desirous that any others of the congregation who are willing should also communicate. My address to the young people, though not delivered from the pulpit, will be in lieu of a sermon, as I conceive the service will be long enough.

This was in pursuance of an authority granted to the Archdeacon by Bishop Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta, as follows:

The permission for the young to approach the Lord's Table when "desirous" of Confirmation is allowed by the rubric. The examination of them privately and the decision upon their qualifications all fall within the office and duty of a presbyter. Of course you would not read the Confirmation service, nor proceed to imposition of hands, nor pronounce the Apostolic Benediction—which has ever been accounted (with ordination, jurisdiction, correction of doctrine and discipline, and superintendence) the peculiar spiritual province vested in the office termed "Episcopal." Any solemnity which can be given to your examination and admission to the Holy Communion (short of these specified things) would of course be most desirable at your distance from your diocesan.

It is of interest to note that Cardinal Moran in his *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*,² when referring to Father Flynn, who ministered for a short time to the Roman Catholics in the early days of the settlement, says that an aged resident of Sydney had pointed out to him "the place in George Street where Father Flynn administered the Sacrament of Confirmation." The Cardinal explains that the Propaganda of Rome had in 1818 appointed Father Flynn "Prefect-Apostolic of New Holland, with faculty to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation." Probably the Roman priest used chrism as do the clergy of the Eastern Church.

Archdeacon Broughton's letter of authority above quoted is also noteworthy as showing that the relations between the Bishop of Calcutta and his Australian archdeacon were not altogether formal, as is sometimes said. And an earlier communication in March 1833 had been received by Broughton from Bishop Wilson encouraging the idea of making their official relationship as practical as possible.

The Bishop writes:

I have long been intending to open a correspondence with you, well knowing the impossibility of your hearing soon of my arrival,

² p. 64.

and anxious to do the only part of my sacred office which it is in my power to execute—the part of friendly advice and consolation. I am the rather inclined to write at this time because I have some copies of a sermon which I have just published, which I would beg you to accept for yourself, and send with my best compliments to the clergy and persons of authority in your archdeaconry. I need not state to you, Dear Sir, who are so well versed in all matters of divine knowledge, that the charge and episcopal care imposed upon me exceeds all human power to sustain. A visit to New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land may indeed arise as a refuge prescribed to infirmity or sickness, but can scarcely be contemplated if health be continued. But I can wish you "good speed in the name of the Lord." I can daily pray for you and the clergy and flocks committed to your care. I can write occasionally, as I now do, to exhort and to admonish and animate you to make full proof of your ministry.

The Archdeacon in commenting upon the sermon forwarded by his diocesan said he read it, instead of preaching himself, in St James's, Sydney (the pro-cathedral) and instructed the clergy to do the same in their parishes. It comprised a summary of the chief doctrines of the Church and a "comprehensive statement of the argument on behalf of the episcopal form of government, in support of a national established religion."³

In his charge to the clergy in Tasmania the Archdeacon urged, as he had done in Sydney, that one of his strongest religious convictions was the imperative necessity for all true education being built upon a spiritual foundation. It must, therefore, have been a staggering blow when he found, on reaching Australia, that he had been allowed to begin his work as archdeacon without any notification that a reversal of the ecclesiastical and educational policy of the Home Government as to New South Wales had been decided upon. And the dispatch notifying this to the Governor was, strangely enough, dated the day before Broughton sailed from England.

It may be conceded that the reservation by the royal charter of George IV of one-seventh of the lands of New

³ Rev. Josiah Bateman, *Life of Bishop Daniel Wilson*, vol. i, p. 318 (London, 1860).

South Wales for the support of religion and education under the direction of the representatives of the established Church of England could not be expected to continue after the population of the colony grew, and consequently differing religious denominations formed part of it and had their place in the working of the system of local responsible government which ultimately was developed. But the decision of the Home authorities in 1829 to revoke the charter, and leave the Church dependent upon the revenue of the colony, may well have caused the Archdeacon and his clergy much anxiety. A notable dispatch, in 1833, from the then Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies further urged that the time had arrived for official recognition to be given to Roman Catholics and Presbyterians as well as to the Church of England in the help afforded to church organization and public education.⁴ The subject having been ventilated in the Press was widely discussed, and it will have been seen that in his primary charge, a few months after his landing in Australia, Archdeacon Broughton had declared his policy to be the maintenance of the plan inaugurated by his predecessor, Archdeacon Scott, of a combined system of definite religious teaching with the secular training in the parochial schools, under financial support from the Government.

Sir Richard Bourke's dispatch remained unanswered for two years, but in 1835 Lord Glenelg, who had become Colonial Secretary, replied to Governor Bourke approving the proposals of the dispatch:

Attached as I am in common with other members of the Government to the Church of England, and believing it, when duly administered, to be a powerful instrument in the diffusion of sound religious instruction, I am desirous that every encouragement should be given to its extension in New South Wales, consistently with the just claims of that large part of the community which is composed of Christians of other denominations. . . . The plan which you have suggested appears to me to be fully in accord with this view in

⁴ W. W. Burton, *State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, pp. 42f. (London, 1840).

both its branches—in that which relates to the places and ministers of worship, or, as may be more briefly described, to public religion, and in that which concerns public education.

The Church and School Corporation Charter was accordingly revoked, but the controversy continued, especially on its educational side, and ultimately a local ordinance of New South Wales was passed with the intention of removing the educational control from the Church of England, and the lands reserved to her in this connexion were to be resumed by the Colonial Government under the direction of the Imperial authorities. But the actual resumption was not at once proceeded with, so Broughton and his co-trustees of the Corporation continued to administer its affairs, though they refrained from undertaking any new developments in connexion with the property.

During the five years of the currency of his post as archdeacon, Broughton visited all the more settled districts of New South Wales and also covered many a hundred miles of travelling through bush country in getting from place to place. Writing an amusing account of one of these tours he gives his early impressions of the Australian aborigines:

I have been a short voyage to Port Stephens, about a hundred miles to the northward, where the Australian Agricultural Company Establishment is, under the superintendence of Sir Edward Parry. . . . The view of the Port from Sir Edward Parry's house, or rather cottage, is very striking. I might even say magnificent, and from Sir Edward and Lady Parry I received great civility and kindness. I preached on the two Sundays that I was there at the Company's two establishments, Carrington and Stroud, and christened or received into the congregation more than thirty children. We had beautiful weather uninterruptedly during our stay, as you may judge when I tell you that on the 21st of June, our shortest day and the depth of winter, we all lay down on the grass in the open air to eat our luncheon, without any fear whatever of damp or cold. It was on the banks of the river, a very pretty sylvan scene, the greater number of the party had been hunting and shooting, and the dogs and horses scattered about among the trees made the scene very lively. To add to it, the natives who accompanied us everywhere, being passionately fond of hunting and very expert at it, had made their fire some thirty or forty

Sir Michael Bourke presents his compliments
to the Bishop of Australia. He will have the
honour of receiving ~~the Bishop~~ ^{him} at Government
House ^{the day} at any hour the Bishop may find it
convenient to call ~~the day before~~ ~~from~~ ~~his~~ ~~house~~

Capt Hunter who will deliver this letter will
take the Bishop's instructions as to any matter he
may wish to raise at his orders.

Sir Michael Bourke avails himself of
this opportunity to congratulate the Bishop of
Australia upon his appointment and hope
usual

To His Most Excellent
The Bishop of Australia

LETTER OF WELCOME FROM GOVERNOR BOURKE TO THE
BISHOP OF AUSTRALIA

From the original in the possession of Mr William Dixon.

present in the library.

The Bishop of Rochester's letter of yesterday
has been but just received at Fort Monroe.

Fort Monroe. Today

Friday June 3^d 1864.

yards from us and were broiling their opossums, bandicoots and other vermin which they principally live upon. Some of them quite naked, others in a variety of clothes of all sorts and shapes and sizes which they had contrived to beg or borrow from their European friends, always lively, good humoured and obliging, but very lazy, not willing to work after our manner; but when they want meat, climbing in a most expert manner up one tree after another in search of it, by cutting notches one above the other just large enough to fix one of their toes in.

They lived constantly about the houses at Stroud, indeed while there we spent almost as savage a kind of life as theirs. Three of them used to sit round the fire on the ground eating their meals while we had ours. On Sunday morning just before church I happened to be alone with "Willim," a constable and therefore dressed in an old regimental coat and carrying a staff inscribed "W.R.," quite a very fine young man, and "Jacky," a boy, both unclad. I took out my bands and put them on, a sight which they of course had never seen before, indeed there had never previously been a clergyman there. It was quite ludicrous to see their surprise. They stopped short in the midst of eating, all of them having their mouths full at the moment, and looked for some minutes with most earnest attention as if they expected something very wonderful was to happen. When they had a little recovered from their surprise they said something to one another in their own language and broke out into such immoderate laughter, continued for such a length of time, that it was quite impossible to do otherwise than join them. I thought it was rather a strange thing for me to be sitting in that way in the midst of three savages. Such things do not often happen to archdeacons, I suppose. I gave a shilling to one of them, named "Micky," who upon that shook hands with me many times, and said I was a very good fellow, and next morning sent me a present of a boomerang, a weapon of wood in the shape of the blade of a scimitar which they hurl with great force and very correct aim. We saw an old man named "Billie," who standing as a looker on at a great fight which took place a few days before we came, had the top joint of his thumb cut off by a blow of one of these weapons as cleanly as by a sword or a knife. After my present to "Micky," however, I never saw him. He would not come near me, I believe, fearing that I might perhaps take the shilling away from him again. In their language "corbon" means "great," and at Bathurst they called me the "corbon parson," but this I concluded some of the white people had taught them. I hope in the course of the present year to make an attempt at least to instruct and civilise them, but to decide even how to begin it will require infinite deliberation, and it is evidently only the hand of God which can make the attempt successful. . . .

CHAPTER IV

BROUGHTON'S VISIT TO ENGLAND (1834-5)

THE two matters which the Archdeacon declared had been forced upon his attention by his first tours through the settled districts of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were (i), the necessity for increasing his clerical staff so as to minister to the population as it spread out far beyond the centres of Sydney and Hobart Town; and (ii), the need for a vigorous diocesan education policy, in consequence of Governor Bourke's successful appeal to the Home Government to disband the Church and School Corporation, which had given certain educational advantages to the Church of England, but did not attempt to coerce the scholars not of her fold, and to substitute an undenominational system of public education after the Irish pattern. Ultimately the Archdeacon decided that the situation was so grave that he must go to England and in person urge immediate action upon the Home authorities, but before leaving Sydney he held his second visitation on 13 February 1834 in St James's, Sydney.

In its introduction he referred to the death of Dr James, the Bishop of Calcutta when Broughton succeeded to the archdeaconry, and took occasion to express his own rigorous view of the organization of the ministry of the Church in apostolic times. He said:

When we separated upon the termination of my last address to you here, I did not anticipate that so long an interval would elapse before I should have the satisfaction of meeting you collectively again. But the great Disposer of events was pleased in His unsearchable wisdom,

to remove prematurely from his presidency over us the prelate under whose jurisdiction you were on that occasion summoned to appear before me. During the vacancy of the episcopal office, I hesitated to assume or exercise a power which, agreeably to my views of the constitution and polity of our Church, can devolve upon me only as the representative among you of one who has been invested with the highest of the ministerial orders. Let not this, I would entreat you, be regarded as a scrupulous adherence to matter of form alone. My own examination of the Word of God, and reflection upon it aided by the study of Christian antiquity, have satisfied me that the subordination of various offices in the Church has not been appointed without the wisest design; and that in the propagation and final extension of the Gospel throughout the World, the maintenance of that subordination will be found of more immediate and vital importance than is now generally supposed. I deemed it becoming and advantageous in the circumstances under which we were placed, to submit to a temporary suspension of my visitorial powers, rather than to incur the hazard of assuming a function incompatible with regularity of discipline. Such might have been the case if those powers had been exercised during the vacancy of the episcopal seat upon which my commission makes me dependent. Few duties, I would observe, are more distinctly marked in Scripture than that of regulating all things pertaining to God's service and to the exercise of our ministry with "decency and order"; and therefore, for the promotion of that end we must "obey them that have the rule" over us and "submit" ourselves. A regulated connection and dependence among the several members is a distinguished property of that constitution which the New Testament exhibits as established in the Church of the Apostles, which from them has providentially descended to us, and I have deemed it proper to offer this explanation of my reasons for omitting to hold a visitation at the regular period last occurring.

In the changes which are contemplated, and indeed are now being carried into effect, with relation to the Indian churches, I trust that it will be found practicable to bring these colonies (New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land) into a closer connection with their proper ecclesiastical superior, upon whomsoever that charge may devolve, or wheresoever his seat may be fixed; and to confer upon them effectually what they have hitherto enjoyed but nominally—the advantage of episcopal superintendence, which is the crown of the whole system. In the meantime I have derived much comfort from intercourse with a diocesan,¹ who so far as the distance and difficulty of communication would admit, has afforded me upon every reference which I have made to him the most prompt attention; who has entered into whatever concerns the spiritual welfare of this portion of his extended diocese with an earnestness and anxiety truly paternal; proving him, however widely separated, to be united with us by the closest of all sympathies—that which originates in unity of faith and fellowship in the Gospel.

¹ Bishop Daniel Wilson.

In reviewing the low moral condition of New South Wales, the Archdeacon drew attention to the astounding quantity of alcoholic liquor consumed in the colony:

Public attention cannot be too often directed to the fact that the same official records which return a population of 60,000 souls within the colony, prove also the importation and consumption of more than 275,000 gallons of ardent spirits within the year just concluded. Calculating the numbers under the sentence of the law who are debarred the use of spirits, those again who from inclination or principle totally abstain or consume but an inconsiderable quantity, and also subtracting the number of children included in the population returns, we have a proportion exceeding all credibility remaining to be consumed by that part of the population which is addicted to the use of ardent spirits. . . .

Our chief dependence, however, for accomplishing that moral and religious reformation, which is the object of desire among all good men, must rest upon the effect to be produced, through the blessing of God, by the general establishment of schools, in which the children may be habituated from an early age to a decent regularity of conduct and, together with a summary of the leading doctrines and duties of Christianity, may acquire the rudiments at least of the most useful kinds of knowledge. It has been my endeavour, so far as the means at my disposal enabled me, to increase the number of such schools, and to place them under the superintendence of competent and respectable instructors. In both these objects I have to some extent succeeded, but I ought to mention that, nevertheless, within the last few years the total numbers receiving instruction in the schools connected with the Established Church have not increased as they had previously done. . . .

Under every kind of difficulty and discouragement, by a steady devotion of their time, for which on behalf of myself and of the clergy generally I venture to offer them thanks, the trustees succeeded in carrying into effect, to a considerable extent, a plan of education to which it is principally owing that the now rising generation has not grown up in ignorance and barbarism; and which, if encouraged and extended upon the same correct principles, will yet prove the source of inestimable advantages to this community.

It would be unjust, moreover, if we were to confine our observation to those parochial schools which are devoted to the humbler branches of instruction; and were not to notice the establishment of a school of a higher class for affording the benefit of a good classical, scientific, and religious education to the sons of parents in the middle and higher ranks of life. It was time that such an establishment should be set on foot. The success which has attended the experiment proves the correctness of the principles upon which it was undertaken; and for this also the colony is indebted to the Church and School Corporation. But for the unexpected delay which has occurred in providing the requisite buildings, I do not hesitate to say

that the colony would ere now have enjoyed the advantage of a place of education than which, in proportion to the number of its scholars, none of a more promising character or more satisfactorily regulated could be met with even in the United Kingdom. If the apprehension of expense alone retards the completion of the plan, the colonists must perceive, I think, that it would be for them a very injurious economy if this consideration were allowed to prevail over others which far more closely affect their interests. The education received in The King's School, Parramatta, is not for the exclusive benefit of those upon whom it is primarily bestowed, but for that of the entire community. It concerns all ranks that they who are to be the chief inheritors of property, from among whom in all probability the future legislators, magistrates, and other public functionaries will be taken, should enjoy those advantages of liberal education which alone can expand and invigorate their understandings in the degree which their rank and employment will call for, and give them those enlarged liberal views of morals and the science of government, those sentiments of independence, and that fixed impression in favour of revealed religion, which afford to any country the surest guarantee that its affairs will be well and honestly administered. It must be borne in mind that this school was projected only as the prelude to a college; and of this also, if such be the will of God, I should rejoice to live to witness the completion. One benefit which I regard as among the chief of those to be conferred by such an institution would be the opening afforded by it for the introduction of the natives of the colony itself into the sacred Ministry. Years must necessarily pass before such an expectation can be realised, but it is one of which I should never lose sight, and which will not be lost sight of, I trust, by those who have families rising around them, born upon the soil which they have chosen as the abode of themselves and of their descendants. I am persuaded that the Church will never be so effectually served, nor so firmly engage the affections of the people as when a succession of well educated zealous and faithful ministers of the Gospel shall have arisen in the country itself to fill its several offices. But to accomplish this most desired object, the opportunities of acquiring a suitable education within the colony must continue to be increased proportionately with its advancing wealth and importance. . . .

Preparing as I am, my brethren, in the work of the ministry, to embark within a very short interval upon a voyage of no common extent, I cannot conclude this address to you without emotions of a very different description from those which would prevail upon ordinary occasions. The uncertainties attended upon life, precarious as it is at the best, must of course be multiplied by such an undertaking; and while I rejoice to have met you here assembled, I have done so under a consciousness how very possible it is that it may have been for the last time. I go with that support which always accompanies uprightness of purpose, and under an entire conviction that over those who trust in Him the providence of God is everywhere. Respecting the purpose of my approaching return to England, I deem it unneces-

sary to say more than that having attentively examined and considered all circumstances connected with the advancement of religion throughout the colony, I am satisfied that we are attempting to provide for its general extension and establishment with utterly inadequate means. I cannot look on with tranquillity while I see such extended and populous districts devoid of churches, devoid of clergymen, devoid of schools; the flock of Christ scattered without a shepherd; destitute, in a word, of all the means of Christian instruction and devotion; and I should be ashamed of my own activity in the service of a Master Who has done such great things for me, if believing the possibility that my interposition in making known these wants might lead to their removal, I could hesitate at any personal exertion, or shrink from any personal hazard which must be incurred in carrying that purpose into effect. I request most earnestly the benefit of your prayers, and of the prayers of all who desire that the Gospel should exert a wider and more uninterrupted influence among the inhabitants of this country. Whether it be the purpose of God who ruleth over all, that I should come again to preside over you here, or that the possession of this seat should devolve upon another abler, but not more anxious to fulfil the duties which are annexed to it, my fervent supplication to God is, that He will support and bless the Church which He has planted here; that He will also bless you in your ministry; and make you the instruments of turning many to righteousness; to the eternal glory of His great name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

It was arranged that Samuel Marsden, who had acted as senior chaplain of the colony after chaplain Johnson's return to England until Archdeacon Scott's appointment, should again assume charge of the Church's work while Archdeacon Broughton visited England, and he wrote to the Church Missionary Society in London recommending the Archdeacon's mission to the favourable consideration of the Society:

As Archdeacon Broughton is returning to England for a short period I embrace the opportunity to write to you. One of his objects in going Home at this time is to obtain a number of clergymen for these settlements, which are perishing for lack of knowledge. There is a large penal settlement upon Norfolk Island and no clergyman has been there for the last twenty seven years. There the convicts, sent out to that Island from England and from New South Wales under sentence for life, are left to live and die without any religious instruction. This is a disgrace to the British nation as a Christian people, and I earnestly pray that this evil may be remedied. I told the Archdeacon that I would write to your Society to see if you could afford some relief.

Our Archdeacon is a very high churchman, but not inimical to

the Gospel. He will not countenance the smallest deviation from the rules of the Established Church. I have thought it proper to mention this. I am obliged to him for his attentions to me; he has not interfered with me in any way. He is a man who acts with great propriety in all his conduct, and studies to promote the interests of religion very much.

Upon his arrival in England the Archdeacon promptly got into touch with those whom he knew were interested in his archdeaconry, and with other representative churchmen, before whom he put the circumstances and necessities of his work. Then he proceeded to make official representations to the great church societies, and through them he approached the Home Government.

In his appeal to the S.P.G. soon after his reaching England, Broughton wrote to the secretary, the Rev. A. M. Campbell:

The colony of N.S.W. is now in the forty seventh year of its existence, and since its establishment (in 1788) more than 100,000 convicts have been transported, of whom it is estimated, with probability, one fourth part or (25,000) is now surviving and resident in the colony. The number transported during the last three years has been upon an average annually to N.S.W. 2500, and to Van Diemen's Land 2100—in the three years 13,700 in all. During the earlier stages of the colonies, or until within about eight years from the present time, considerable expense was incurred by the British Government in providing the means of religious worship and instruction for these banished offenders. But since the middle of 1826 the entire charge of such provision has been thrown upon the colonists, and none whatever has been made at the cost of this country [England] since that date for the maintenance of clergy, the erection of churches, or the support of schools in Van Diemen's Land or N.S.W.

Confining my observations to the latter colony, I beg to state that at the conclusion of the administration of General Macquarie in 1821, there were in use for the celebration of public worship six substantial churches—at Sydney two, St Philip's, and St James's, at Parramatta one, St John's, and parish churches at Liverpool, Campbell Town, and Windsor, chiefly the result of the energy of the Governor. Subsequently two other churches have been erected by the labour of the convicts at Newcastle and at Port Macquarie, while those stations were occupied as penal settlements. But with these exceptions, notwithstanding the very great number of convicts transported in the interval, no addition worthy of notice has been made to the number of places of worship belonging to the Established Church since the conclusion of Governor Macquarie's administration. The foundation stone of a large church (on the site of the future cathedral) laid by

him in the town of Sydney remains as it was left at his departure, although the inhabitants have increased to 16,232—of whom 12,079 are Protestants and at least 2000 of the latter prisoners of the Crown. . . . In the interior, containing by the census of 1832 upwards of 30,000 Protestants, there have been provided at the expense of the colony alone, a few buildings in which divine service is performed. These are mostly of a temporary description, generally used as schoolrooms during the week, and some of them as police offices, military barracks, or even as places of confinement for criminals. I refer to places employed for the celebration of divine worship in which I have myself officiated.

With respect to schools, I beg to annex statement of 20 stations at which they are altogether wanting, or else education is carried on in hired and most incommodious buildings, rendering utterly hopeless the expectation of engaging instructors of decent character and habits of life, and of course in the same proportion detrimental to the improvement of the children in knowledge, morals, or good order. . . .

So far as the inhabitants of this country are concerned, the thousands of convicts who are annually transported are cast forth upon the shores of these colonies without any precaution being taken or effort made to prevent their instantly becoming pagans or heathens. Such, in reality, without some immediate interposition to establish a better system, the greater number of them will and must become, and the deadly infection will be propagated even to their remotest descendants. The question, in truth, which the people of this nation will have to consider is whether they are prepared to lay the foundation of a vast community of infidels, and whether collectively or individually they can answer to Almighty God for conniving at such an execution of the transportation laws as will infallibly lead on to this result. . . .

Both the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. societies were enlisted for official action in pressing upon the Government the urgency for immediate attention to the moral and spiritual needs of the Australian settlements. The S.P.C.K. in a direct memorial addressed to the Government emphasized the inequitable financial position in relation to ministrations to the convicts, as revealed by Archdeacon Broughton's reports. But the memorial insisted beyond all else upon the degradation of colonists and convicts alike which must follow if their highest interests continued to be neglected. It affirms:

In many parts of the colony the spiritual destitution of the settlers is equally great. Through many extensive districts, they are unable to procure the rite of religion. The sacraments are not administered ex-

cept at long intervals; marriage cannot be solemnised without so much difficulty that, notwithstanding every relaxation in point of form, parties are often unable to obtain it, and are living together without its celebration. Many children die unbaptised; and the apprehension of being deprived of Christian burial is found to prevail to a painful extent among the colonists, who are at a distance from the stations. But the worst effect arising from this state of things is the visible decline of religious principle, and the progress of vice and irreligion in the colony at large.

The Society, willing to do everything in its power to alleviate these evils, has recently placed a considerable sum at the disposal of the Archdeacon; but it is evident that this sum will do very little towards providing for the exigencies of the settlers; and it is felt that, in this colony especially where there are so many prisoners of the Crown who have been banished from their country for the public advantage, the religious instruction of the people ought not to be left to the bounty of religious societies or of private individuals. The Society, therefore, most earnestly implores His Majesty's Government to take the spiritual condition of the colony of New South Wales into serious consideration, and by the erection of churches with schools attached to them, and the appointment of additional chaplains to place within reach, both of the colonists and the convicts, the blessings of a Christian education and the comforts and the consolations of religion.

The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir George Grey) in acknowledging the S.P.C.K. memorial, wrote:

Lord Glenelg is deeply sensible of the importance of the subject to which the memorial relates, and entirely participates in the feelings of the Society in regard to the inadequacy of the means of religious instruction, to the wants of the colonists in the Australian settlements. The subject has engaged much of Lord Glenelg's attention, and has formed the topic of various communications between H.M. Government and the Governor of New South Wales. There can be no doubt of the necessity of immediate efforts to remedy this evil, and H.M. Government are prepared to act under a sense of that necessity. Lord Glenelg is, however, of opinion that the actual measures which may be requisite to meet the exigency, can be efficiently or usefully arranged only by the Governor and Legislative Council of the colony, as the body to whom matters of internal legislation have been in the first instance confided. Lord Glenelg has therefore transmitted to Sir R. Bourke a copy of the memorial, and feels assured that it will receive from the local Government that attention and consideration to which it is so justly entitled on account, as well of the importance of the subject to which it relates, as of the character of the Society from which it proceeds.

Despite this courteous official reception by the Home

Government of the appeals made to it, no definite promise of help from the Imperial revenue was given. But the S.P.C.K. undertook to contribute £3000 from its own resources and the S.P.G. £1000, which, together with substantial subscriptions raised under the spirited leadership of Edward Coleridge, by his personal friends and other earnest church people, greatly encouraged the Archdeacon, and sharply contrasted with the somewhat frigid attitude adopted by the Home authorities in their personal intercourse with him.

It must have been a pleasant experience for the pupil of long ago to be invited to preach the anniversary sermon in Canterbury Cathedral in the September of 1835 before "The King's School Feast Society," and Broughton took advantage of the opportunity to deliver a vigorous, scholarly discourse upon his cherished conviction of the necessity for a definite religious basis for education as the most effective antidote to the further development of the latitudinarianism which he believed was undermining the national character.

Another incident of his sojourn in England that must have gratified him was the assent of King William IV to the suggestion which Broughton had asked the Bishop of London to place before His Majesty for a royal donation of two sets of Communion plate for the Sydney churches. In notifying the King's gift, Bishop Blomfield wrote that the King's Treasurer had been instructed to supply for each set £100, "or more if that sum should not be sufficient" for the vessels.

One of these sets went to St Philip's, Sydney, the other to St James's, and they are both in continual use.

CHAPTER V

FOUNDING THE BISHOPRIC (1836)

THAT the Archdeacon felt real disappointment at the want of practical sympathy shown by Lord Melbourne's Government with his endeavour to put the administration of the religious and educational machinery of the two Australian colonies upon a more adequate foundation is made plain in a letter to his friend the Rev. H. H. Norris,¹ while still in England in July 1835, which even suggests that he doubted whether the Home authorities wanted him to return to New South Wales. "If they would indeed set me free from the responsibility," he writes, "I might be under a weighty obligation to them: but I hope my resolution is taken not to abandon the post of duty by a voluntary act as long as there remains the most distant prospect of doing good, or even the obligation upon me to maintain it."

There can be little doubt that the attitude of the Government to the Archdeacon personally was influenced by the fact, that comes out clearly in the confidential official dispatches between New South Wales and London, of the want of compatibility—to say the least of it—between Governor Sir Richard Bourke and the Archdeacon as the head of the religious and educational department of the local Government. The Governor was a whole-hearted believer in the policy of headquarters at London which regarded the Church as a department of colonial administration; and from this standpoint Sir Richard Bourke must be accepted

¹ Edward Churton, *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, vol. ii, p. 125 (London 1861).

as a, from the political point of view, successful representative of those to whom he owed official obedience.

To Broughton, with his scholarly knowledge of Christian history, such a conception of the relations between Church and State was under no circumstances to be conceded; though it may be confessed that if a more conciliatory attitude had been even occasionally shown by him, at any rate judging the facts nearly a century afterwards, that mutual advantage might have resulted. Yet it must not be overlooked that excepting for the support of his loyal church-folk, the Archdeacon stood almost alone in his insistent demand for the recognition of the traditional rights of the Church.

But the enthusiasm, ability, and zeal which he displayed in his campaign in England on behalf of the needs of the people committed to his spiritual oversight, led to consequences far exceeding in importance any matter of immediate administration. There had developed in England and New South Wales a body of opinion in ecclesiastical circles that the Church could never fulfil her responsibilities efficiently until her organization had been completed by establishing a bishopric. The question had also been before the Home Government for some time and Sir Richard Bourke had supported the proposal, and at first agreed in the suitability of the Archdeacon for promotion to the episcopal office. But the policy of English politicians that had feared to encourage the consecration of bishops for the American colonists, more than a century earlier, lest the increase of the spiritual independence of the Church should foster the same spirit in the domain of civil government, still had its supporters in prominent men like Lord Melbourne, and hindered definite action in connexion with New South Wales. But towards the end of 1835 while Archdeacon Broughton's presence and continued efforts in England were still accentuating the impossibility of the Church fulfilling her functions until her organization had

been completed by the appointment of a bishop, Lord Glenelg forwarded a dispatch to Governor Bourke notifying that the Government had finally decided, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to carry proposals which had been made into effect. But the Archdeacon was not prepared at once unconditionally to accept the bishopric, mainly because he knew that both in England and New South Wales the authorities were in favour of an educational policy of which he had frequently expressed his disapproval. Writing to Mrs Broughton at this time of two interviews with the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, he says:

We differ much upon some points upon which I do not intend to give way: as indeed if I were to do so I should be only going back to be engaged in constant disputes with the Governor, and do no good. I therefore hope that he will in some degree give way to my views about the schools. . . . I am greatly effected by what you say about our future lot in life, and your readiness to share mine whatever it may be. . . . On our own account, therefore, I shall make no hesitation as to going: but there are certain arrangements I think ought to be made to enable me to do any good worth speaking of, and if they are to be objected to it will be a matter of very anxious consideration with me what course I ought to adopt.

In a later letter from London to his wife, who was staying in Canterbury, he writes:

I should have written to you yesterday but was obliged to go to Addington to see the Archbishop, and did not return in time for the post. In truth I had an important reason for wishing to write you as the letter which I received the morning I left you appears to decide the question of our going back to Sydney. I could not find it in my heart to say so to you then, but you have a right to know it as soon as I myself have any certainty. Up to that moment I had perhaps indulged more than I ought, an expectation, even a hope, that our return might be prevented by circumstances not of my own seeking, which would have enabled me with a clear conscience to relinquish the appointment. But as Ministers have now decided on their own course, but have agreed not to require me to concur or co-operate with them in it I have, of course, no further objection to offer, but must take upon myself as a solemn duty imposed upon me by God's providence the charge of doing my best under very unpromising circumstances, for the Church which is committed to my direction. I had a long and serious conversation with the Archbishop, who fully approves of, and confirms, the views under which I have been led to make this decision.

The official correspondence which resulted from the interviews between the Colonial Secretary and the Archdeacon is of such importance, and of such historic interest in the story of the Australian Church, that part of it, at least, deserves wide publicity. First in order of time comes a dispatch on 30 November 1835 from the Colonial Secretary to the Governor of New South Wales, in which Lord Glenelg anticipated Broughton's acceptance of the see:

The reasons which you have alleged in favor of the erection of the archdeaconry of New South Wales into a bishopric seem to me conclusive. My predecessor had determined to carry this proposal into effect; and His Majesty's present Government have decided, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to adhere to that determination. The zeal and energy, with which Mr Broughton has discharged the duties of archdeacon of New South Wales, and the strong interest which he takes in the spiritual welfare of the colony, pointed him out as the fittest person to be invested with the episcopal office; and I have much pleasure in informing you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to nominate him to the new See. He will receive the same salary,² which he has hitherto received as archdeacon; and any reduction, which the Governor and Council may deem practicable and expedient, will, of course, take effect only on the appointment of a successor.

On the following day Lord Glenelg wrote to Archdeacon Broughton:

It is the anxious wish of His Majesty's Government to proceed without further delay to the final settlement of the ecclesiastical and scholastic arrangements of the Australian colonies, which have been, for some time, under their consideration.

On receiving the seals of this Department, I found that upon the general question of the future provisions for religious instruction and education in New South Wales, which had been brought under the notice of my predecessor by Sir Richard Bourke and by yourself, no decision had been adopted. On one point, however, connected with the general subject, the case was different. Sir R. Bourke had strongly recommended, with a view to the interests and discipline of the Church of England in the Australian colonies, that New South Wales and its dependencies should be erected into an episcopal see, and that the archdeaconry should be merged into this new and higher institution. I found that my predecessor, Lord Aberdeen, with the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had assented to the recommendation and had decided on submitting your name to the King for

² £2000 a year and incidental expenses.

appointment to the new see. His Majesty's present Government at once admitted the expediency of the intended change, and were prepared without delay to carry it into effect. I regret that difficulties occurred to you which have hitherto induced you to hesitate as to your acceptance of the office. This has been the sole cause of my deferring the adoption of the legal measures necessary to the completion of this arrangement. I am aware that this hesitation on your part proceeded from an anxiety to be informed of the intentions of His Majesty's Government, with reference to the general subject of education; but I feel it right to state to you that the determination of the Government with respect to the bishopric has never been considered by them as in any degree contingent on the other question, and that, irrespective of their decision as to the latter, they are convinced that it is necessary that no further delay should take place in acting upon the decision long since adopted as to the former.

I therefore earnestly trust that you will permit me to submit your name to the King as the first bishop of New South Wales; and I have to request that you will favour me with the earliest possible intimation of your decision as to the proposal which I have the honour to convey to you.

I am at the same time anxious to communicate to you full information of the course which, after mature consideration His Majesty's Government have determined to adopt on the general question; and, in order to obviate any possible misconception, I enclose for your perusal copies of a despatch from Sir Richard Bourke upon this subject to my predecessor Lord Stanley, and of the answer which I have addressed to Sir Richard Bourke. I am fully sensible of the deep interest which you feel in the spiritual welfare of the Australian colonies, and I place a high value on the experience which you have acquired during your past residence in New South Wales, and on the proofs which you have given of your enlightened zeal in the furtherance of the best interests of the colonists.

It will therefore afford me high gratification to know that His Majesty's Government may depend upon your concurrence and co-operation in the views which they entertain upon this important subject; but, deeply as I should regret the loss of such cooperation, I feel it my duty to state without reserve that the course taken by His Majesty's Government has been adopted under a full sense of their responsibility and on the deliberate conviction that it is recommended by principles the best calculated to advance those interests which, in common with yourself, they are most anxious by all due means to foster and promote.

Two days later the Archdeacon replied:

Canterbury, 3rd December 1835.

MY LORD,

I had this morning the honour of receiving your lordship's letter dated the 1st inst., expressing the anxious desire of His Majesty's Government to proceed without further delay to the final settlement

of the ecclesiastical and scholastic arrangements of the Australian colonies.

In extenuation of any share of that delay which may have been occasioned by my hesitation to accept the high and sacred office which was proposed to me by the Earl of Aberdeen, and the offer of which is now repeated by your lordship, I would with much submission observe that the question was of far more difficult decision than if it had now been proposed to me to visit those colonies for the first time. I had been already known there in the twofold capacity of the head of the Church and visitor of the public schools. Religion and education had been placed under my charge in the closest association; and I therefore felt a natural unwillingness to contract new engagements without knowing whether my former relation to the Government was to continue, or whether, by breaking off my connexion with the schools it was materially to change its character.

I am, therefore, most deeply indebted to your lordship's condescension in having afforded me the opportunity of perusing the despatch of Sir Richard Bourke, and of the proposed reply from your lordship to His Excellency, whereby I am enabled to take a deliberate view of my situation before I devote myself to it beyond the power of recall.

Your lordship having been pleased to apprise me that the determination of the Government with respect to the bishopric has never been considered by them as in any degree contingent on the general question, I should have felt myself debarred from expressing more than my simple acceptance of the distinguished office proposed to me, with an assurance of my gratitude to your lordship for having been pleased to confirm me in that appointment, and for the flattering terms in which such promotion is conveyed.

But, as your lordship has testified a hope that the Government may depend upon my concurrence and co-operation in the views which they entertain upon the important subject referred to in the preceeding part of your lordship's letter, I apprehend that my passing over this without some explanatory remarks might be construed as pledging me to the extent of that expectation. The despatch of General Bourke has however laid open to me some points in which I cannot concur; and I therefore request your lordship's permission to state briefly, with respect to these, the grounds of my inability to promise the required co-operation.

I should be unable to make any engagement which would imply my acting in concert with Sir Richard Bourke in carrying into effect the proposed system of giving public support to three separate forms of religion, and possibly also to every congregation of dissenters and of Jews upon the same principle; because my opinion of the tendency of this system is precisely in accordance with the expectation of His Excellency that, under it, "the people will become more attached to their respective churches, and be more willing to listen to, and obey their several pastors." I could not engage to concur in a system which, instead of enlightening the minds of men and disposing them to adopt the truth, will attach them more to the errors of their

church, and check the progress of the Reformation—since I must, as a Protestant bishop, contract obligations which will bind me to employ all diligence and exertion to counteract such a purpose.

With respect to the new system of education, it is necessary that I should again trouble your lordship with a statement of the reasons, which lead me to decline connecting myself with it, and which would induce me to counsel all Protestants to pursue the same course. I should most gratefully avail myself of the opening afforded by your lordship's proposal to afford assistance to persons, and classes of persons who may entertain objections to the general plan; and I should hope to prevail with the Legislative Council to render such assistance to an extent which may enable me to retain the furniture and buildings of the existing primary schools, and to carry them on upon the present system.

I am, therefore, but too apprehensive that, without extended indulgence for cases in which I might consider myself bound by principle to withhold my support from the measures of the Government, I should not subscribe to your lordship's words according to the plain and obvious meaning in which they must be understood by an honest mind. I venture to express not only my readiness but my anxiety, I may in a justifiable sense say my ambition, to enter upon the episcopal office in New South Wales; my connexion with the country, my regard for many of the inhabitants, and my anxiety to promote the welfare of the Christian Church, all conspiring to fix my determination; and I cannot contemplate but with extreme pain any circumstances which may interfere with my attainment of that distinction. Nevertheless I cannot be blind to the inconvenience which may arise from the want of a better accordance between the Governor of the colony and myself; above all things I would wish to avoid misleading the Government as to the principles which I entertain, and so raising expectations of concurrence and co-operation which my subsequent proceedings might not satisfy. I have no resource, therefore, but to throw myself upon your lordship's favourable consideration, and to request that the expression which raises this difficulty may be so interpreted as to leave me no more discretion than its literal sense appears to imply.

I have &c.

WILLIAM GRANT BROUGHTON.

The Archdeacon received the following reply from the Colonial Secretary:

Downing Street, 7th December 1835.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 3rd instant, and I trust that I may infer from it that you are willing to accept the proposed appointment of Bishop of New South Wales and its dependencies. His Majesty's Government have never hesitated as to the selection of the individual to fill this high and important office; and I have frequently expressed

to you my earnest desire that you might signify to me your acceptance of it, irrespective of the course which the Government should ultimately determine to adopt with respect to religious Instruction and education in the colony. In intimating to you my hope that His Majesty's Government might receive your concurrence and cooperation in the plan of education recommended by Sir Richard Bourke, it was not my intention to impose any condition upon your acceptance of the bishopric, or to fetter the free exercise of your judgment in the course which you may feel it incumbent upon you to pursue, either in your episcopal or legislative capacity. I am persuaded that, in the discharge of the duties attached to your sacred office you will be actuated by motives of the highest nature and by a single desire to promote the best interests of the colony.

It appears to me that, as the limits of the bishopric will be more extensive than New South Wales, "Australia" will be a more appropriate designation of the proposed see. Although the question is one of little importance, I shall be happy to receive any suggestion from you upon this point, before I give directions for the preparation of the necessary Patent.

A concordat had been thus reached.

The Archdeacon took an early opportunity of reporting to the Duke of Wellington, who had eight years before nominated him to the Australian archdeaconry, that he was about to be advanced to the episcopate, and in a cordial letter the Duke replied: "I sincerely rejoice that you have been appointed the Bishop of Australia, and wish you success in the performance of your interesting and important functions."

The lengthy letters patent of the "Bishop of Australia," dated 18 January 1836, have been published in two books³ dealing with the history of the Church in Australia, so do not claim space for further reproduction. Upon a first reading they certainly convey an impression of undiluted Erastianism, but it may be taken as a fact that the English lawyers and politicians who were responsible for them had no other conception of the Church. Broughton is believed to have been disturbed by some of the language employed though, later on, he contended when Roman controversialists offered cynical criticism, that if the ecclesiastical

³ Archbishop H. Lowther Clarke, *Constitutional Church Government in the Dominions*, p. 33 (London, 1924). R. A. Giles, *The Constitutional History of the Australian Church*, p. 219 (London, 1928).

distinction between mission and jurisdiction were kept in mind the letters were capable of an orthodox interpretation. But it will be remembered that Selwyn, when he found that his letters were to be modelled on those of Bishop Broughton, protested against part of them and succeeded in getting some important alterations made.⁴

The section of the Bishop of Australia's letters patent that, *prima facie*, most justified this action reads as follows:

We [i.e. the King] do hereby signify to the Most Rev. Father in God William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, that we have erected and founded the aforesaid episcopal see of Australia, and have named and preferred the aforesaid William Grant Broughton, heretofore Archdeacon of New South Wales, to the said bishopric, and have appointed him the Bishop and ordinary pastor thereof, requiring and, by the faith and love whereby he is bound to us commanding, the said William, Archbishop of Canterbury forthwith to consecrate the aforesaid William Grant Broughton Bishop of Australia in manner accustomed, and diligently to do and perform all other things appertaining to his office in this behalf with effect. And we do by these presents give and grant to the said William Grant Broughton and his successors, bishops of Australia, full power and authority to admit into the holy orders of deacon and priest respectively, any person whom he shall upon examination deem duly qualified especially for the cure of souls or officiating in any spiritual capacity within the limits of the said Diocese of Australia and residing therein . . . and that in every such case it shall be distinctly stated in the letters of Ordination that he has been ordained for the cure of souls within the limits of the said diocese of Australia only. . . .

Within a month of the completion of the legal formalities the Bishop of Australia was consecrated on 14 February 1836 in Lambeth Palace Chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley), assisted by the Bishops of London (Blomfield), Winchester (Sumner), and Gloucester (Monk). When Broughton was curate at Hartley Wespall, Bishop Sumner was his diocesan. At the same time the first Bishop of Montreal (Canada), the Rev. J. G. Mountain, received consecration. The preacher was Broughton's

⁴ Rev. H. W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D.*, vol. 1, p. 71.

friend, Dr J. E. N. Molesworth, rector of St Martin's, Canterbury, the text being II Tim. iv, 1-2: "I charge thee in the sight of God, and of Christ Jesus, who shall judge the quick and the dead, and by his appearing and his kingdom; preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and teaching." The sermon was a learned disquisition on "The Foundations of Episcopacy," and in his personal references Dr Molesworth said of Broughton: "I know him, I hope he permits me to say, as a friend, I know him by the respect paid to genuine piety, solid learning, discreet zeal, firm integrity, combined with unaffected meekness and Christian gentleness. I know him by the affection and veneration of those who from his youth up have proved his heart and his understanding. And as far as I dare pronounce such a judgment upon human character, I cannot entertain a doubt but that with a sound knowledge of his subject, he has well considered the nature of his charge and is by God's grace well qualified to undertake it." In the congregation was Edward Coleridge, *nomen clarissimum*, the Eton master and valued friend both of Broughton and Selwyn, whose enthusiasm and unwearied work for the Church in the colonies, particularly in Australia and New Zealand, produced most important results. Broughton had been anxious that his consecration should be in either St Paul's or Westminster Abbey, but he failed to have his wish. Coleridge was also present when Selwyn was made Bishop of New Zealand in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, and he wrote an earnest protest against semi-private consecrations:

I could not help feeling that we ought to have been thousands rather than tens, gathered together as with one consent in St Paul's or Westminster Abbey to witness the sending out by the Church of the first bishop of her own appointment, and not, as we were, a few persons in an upper chamber—as if we were afraid or ashamed of that great deed which we came to sanction by our presence and our prayers. To such an extent has this system of private consecrations been carried that it is an actual fact that my own cousin, the present bishop of Barbadoes (Bishop Coleridge), was admitted to

that sacred office, (of which he has since, under God, proved worthy), in the presence of only two persons—Judges Coleridge and Patten—besides the necessary attendants. I feel that such cannot last much longer. The feeling of the Church will become so strong and her cry of indignation so loud that it will pierce even the walls of Addington, and so rouse the Archbishop from his slumbers that His Grace will not, I trust and hope, go on paying fines to be allowed to violate the law and do in Lambeth Palace what he ought to do in Canterbury Cathedral.

Earlier, a still more amazing instance of what Coleridge so keenly deplors is found in the case of the first Bishop of Calcutta, Dr Middleton, of whom it is recorded⁵ that "He was consecrated in private, as though the episcopate was a feeble concession made to the foolish but troublesome importunity of a few fanatics. His consecration sermon was suppressed, and he was sent out to India, as something contraband, to find twenty English regiments without a single chaplain to minister to them."

But more deplorable than all these facts, is it that the Bishop of Australia was allowed to go and take oversight of his diocese without a single addition to the staff of less than twenty clergy which he left there when he made the visit to England that ended in his advancement to the episcopate. In 1833 a grant of £150 had been made for the passage and outfit of a chaplain going out to Sydney, but no further allowances were given by the Home Government for the Church of England clergy for four years.⁶ This is the more remarkable because two years later £1000 was supplied for Dr Polding the Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic, four priests, and four catechists. The explanation supplied in the first annual report of the Australian diocesan committee of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. in 1838 is that the refusal by the Home authorities to grant further supplies to the Church of England "arose from an impression prevailing (whence originating it is useless to conjecture), that the inhabitants of the colony were opposed,

⁵ Rev. H. W. Tucker, *Under His Banner*, p. 14 (10th edition).

⁶ W. W. Burton, *State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, p. 66.

or at least indifferent to, an extension of the ordinances of the Church." The Bishop reached Sydney on 2 June 1836 after an unusually quick passage in the barque *Camden*, and on the following Sunday, three days later, was enthroned in St James's Church. The *Sydney Gazette* reports:

A very large and highly respectable congregation assembled, amongst whom we noticed the Hon. the Col. Secretary, their Honors the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Hon. the Colonial Treasurer, nearly all the members of the Legislative Council, and the Sheriff and other civil functionaries of rank, by whom his lordship was received, a few minutes before 11 o'clock at the north door of the Church. On the arrival of the Bishop the procession, headed by the senior chaplain, Rev. S. Marsden, and the assistant senior chaplain, Rev. W. Cowper, moved up the aisle, conducting his lordship to the vestry room where the mandate of His Excellency the Governor for installing the Bishop was produced. The congregation then retired to their pews leaving the Bishop in the vestry, and divine service proceeded as usual until the second lesson had been read, when his lordship was again conducted into the church by the officiating clergymen, accompanied as before by a part of the congregation. When the Bishop reached his stall the senior chaplain read the act of consecration, at the conclusion of which the chaplain addressed the Bishop as follows—"My Lord Bishop of Australia—In obedience to the mandate of His Excellency the Governor, I the Rev. Samuel Marsden do in the presence of the persons assembled install your Lordship into the true and full possession of the episcopal see of Australia." The Bishop then took his seat in the church and the organ continued playing while the clergy resumed their stations, after which the officiating clergyman, the Rev. W. Cowper, completed the prayers. The sermon was preached by the Bishop who took as his text Rom. v, 16. As we anticipate that the sermon will be printed by request of the congregation, we shall only briefly state that his lordship dwelt at considerable length upon the leading doctrines of the Church of England as expressed in her liturgy and articles, showing not only their reasonableness but also their accordance with the inspired Word of God. His luminous and admirable discourse (which was heard with the greatest attention throughout), concluded by an appropriate tribute of respect to the late Rev. R. Hill, late rector of St James's whose lamented death had occurred within the vestry of the church only five days previously.

The main topic dealt with in the sermon was the doctrine of justification, and the only personal reference made by the Bishop was: "Assuming as I do this day that station at the helm of the barque of Christ to which the providence of God has called me, though unworthy, perhaps even sin-

fully reluctant, it is not to be wondered at that I should lay more than ordinary stress upon that doctrine whereupon the Church, the pillar and ground of Truth, is itself supported."

Within a week of his landing the Bishop writes to his mother:

You will rejoice to hear of our safe arrival at our destination and in a much shorter period of time than we could have ventured to expect. We came to an anchor here on the 2nd of this month, having been exactly 100 days and a few hours at sea.

This will not be, I hope, the first news you have heard of us, as on the 27th of March we fell in with the ship *Duke of Buccleugh*, about 37 miles on this side of the Line, and had an opportunity of forwarding letters by that conveyance. You received, I hope, the one which I wrote to you, which would inform you of our safety so far. As to our voyage it was much like voyages in general, only I may say we were more than generally fortunate both as to the speed with which we made the voyage, and our comparative exemption from bad weather. We had none very serious after that which occurred soon after our first sailing, and of which I sent you an account. . . .

CHAPTER VI

SOME OF THE BISHOP'S FRIENDS

It is a common experience after reading a notable book and then seeing even a photograph of its author, to get a much clearer understanding of the personality of the writer. In connexion with a biography, still more helpful is it to be able also to get pen pictures and reminiscences of actual conversations from those closely associated with its subject. Fortunately, it is possible to do both these things in the case of the Bishop of Australia. And such contributions have an enhanced interest when they come from men who themselves were recognized as having made their mark in the world of their day. It seems well, therefore, at this stage in Broughton's history, just as he was entering upon his achievements as a bishop, to attempt to convey, as vividly as may be after the lapse of a century, an idea of the impress he made upon some of the friends who were in intimate contact with him. A real value may result from doing this, for it may help in reaching a right judgment upon the motives which influenced him in his inevitably many-sided life. But it may at once be said that he was naturally of such a reserved temperament, and seems so to have supplemented it by a studied reticence which apparently he thought his office demanded, that he admitted but few even of those for whom he had a high regard into confidential relationships with him. This suggests to our modern days of unrestrained freedom in the exchange of opinions, and in the making, and breaking, of friendships

in all departments of life, that Bishop Broughton's work probably suffered through both his natural and official reserve, and it must be confessed that the criticism would not be without some justification.

A prominent Australian daily paper in discussing recently the continuous demand for biographical literature, emphasized that the general weakness of biographers was that they aimed at presenting their subjects in an uncritically favourable atmosphere, and hence the best index of character, the writer urged, is found in biographies in the personal letters they contain. This desideratum can be provided adequately in a record of Broughton's life. He was most careful about his correspondence, and wrote, in quite a beautiful Italian hand that ought to bring blushes of self-conviction to the cheeks of the bishops and clergy of to-day, letters, frequently of amazing length, in which, if the vulgarism be permissible, he often "let himself go" both in righteous wrath and lighter vein, though humour was not a strong point with him, albeit he could make, and enjoy, a joke.

And, now, what like of man was he in bodily presence? A contemporary London church monthly¹ in a lengthy review of the Bishop's career quotes an anonymous letter from an Australian correspondent, dated in the early years of Broughton's episcopate, in which the writer says:

I will paint the bishop's portrait. A man of short stature, a broad expansive forehead, the black hair silvered, a clear expressive blue eye and well-turned nose, a firm expressive mouth and handsome chin; a voice most tuneful in debate or conversation, but restrained in reading or preaching, in which he is not so successful as in extempore addresses, wherein his ready fluency, and graceful facility, and extraordinary fecundity, are quite bewitching. . . .

The first Bishop of Australia is without exception the fittest possible man to lay the foundations of the Church of Christ in this colony; and I am convinced that all who succeed him (and may the line be long, and glorious, and blessed!) will still come after and behind him in every respect. To deep learning, extensive knowledge both of books and men, a courteous address, a winning manner, a readiness and aptitude and comprehension which amaze you,

¹ *The Churchman's Magazine*, April 1853, pp. 242-3.

he adds the highest degree of tact and political management (I speak in a good sense only) you can conceive; and has the art to conceal his art, except from those in habitual communication with him, to whom it necessarily discloses itself. Our clergy sometimes complain of his coldness and reserve. Of those I know nothing, but I can safely add that he is the very last man in the world I should venture to take liberties with. His schoolfellow, Sir G. Gipps (Governor of New South Wales), and others, declare that he is the profoundest statesman in the colony, and understands every branch of business better than anybody else. His memory is perfect.

Turning to the Bishop's intercourse with some of those English friends who helped him most in providing his diocese with men and money, and also by their continuous approval of his work and the encouragement he needed, pride of place must be given to the Rev. Edward Coleridge, the Eton master already mentioned as present at Broughton's consecration. When George Selwyn, after graduating at Oxford, became a private tutor at Eton, where he had been a pupil, and an assistant curate at Windsor, he formed a strong friendship with Coleridge, their mutual enthusiasm for the Church being a powerful factor in it. Judge Patteson, father of the first Bishop of Melanesia, had married Coleridge's sister, and his brother, Justice Coleridge, was a close friend of John Keble, of whom he wrote the memoir that is still highly valued. And Bishop Coleridge of Barbadoes (who afterwards became the first Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury), was Edward Coleridge's cousin. Such family connexions can scarcely have failed to stimulate further Coleridge's devotion to the Church. Of George Selwyn he often spoke as "my most dear of all dear friends." He and all his circle were sympathetic with the Oxford Movement, which was growing into power when Selwyn and Coleridge were teaching at Eton. Hence they had learned to value the Catholic aspect of the English Church which led to her quickened and revived sense of responsibility in respect to the crowded populations of the big industrial centres of England, to her following her emigrant people as they went abroad to the overseas British

dominions, and, more slowly, a consciousness of the spiritual claims of the heathen peoples with whom the emigrant came into contact. When Broughton, as archdeacon, spent more than a year in England in 1834-5, on the vigorous campaign designed to awaken the Home Government and the Church to the serious neglect of the religious needs of both the free and the convict inhabitants of New South Wales, the Archdeacon would almost certainly have come into touch with many of the English folk who were identified more or less with Tractarianism. Indeed, several of those who responded to the appeal he made on behalf of Australia were of the Catholic school of theology. Coleridge was one of these, and he probably was brought into definite relationship with Broughton by Joshua Watson, the treasurer of the S.P.C.K., which was, together with the S.P.G., actively supporting the Archdeacon's effort in England. That some such common action had been established is manifest from Coleridge's having been present at Broughton's consecration, and from the Eton master's having been one of the first with whom he opened a correspondence when he arrived back in Sydney. The first of these letters, written shortly after the Bishop's arrival, has already been inserted in detailing some of his earliest episcopal work, and many of Coleridge's answers to Broughton's communications were duly preserved by Dr Bailey, the second warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury. The late Bishop Montgomery most kindly made an epitome of those which he saw would be of interest in Broughton's biography, and references will be made to them in the chapters dealing with the various subjects of the letters. But a few sentences may be quoted from one letter to show Coleridge's radiant faith and his use of it in controlling the Bishop's tendency to despondency. The Eton master had been sending further subscriptions he had gathered in England, and Broughton had warmly acknowledged them. Coleridge, in reply, wrote: "Do not think it necessary to thank me, for I have more

return for my labour than I desire in the happiness which I am sure you will feel. . . . Your names are 'Great in Israel'—pre-eminently so, and there are hundreds and thousands of thoughtful Churchmen who are expecting a reflux of new life to the Mother Church from Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania. So be brave and hopeful." As a schoolmaster Coleridge was said to have been warm-hearted, affectionate, and sympathetic. It is remarkable that the life of such a zealous churchman has not been written, particularly when it is remembered that there passed through his hands as master of the lower school at Eton, Bishop Patteson, Goldwin Smith, Sir Stafford Northcote (afterwards Lord Iddesleigh), Lord Justice Cotton, Dean Goulbourn, and Bishop John Selwyn, who was his latest pupil. Upon his retirement from Eton, the College nominated him to the parish of Mapledurham, Reading, where he ended his earthly life at the age of eighty-three. Bishop Montgomery's tribute to Edward Coleridge was: "It is impossible to estimate the aid a man like Coleridge has been to the Church in Australia."

Scarcely, if at all, less influential upon Broughton's career than Edward Coleridge was that eminent layman Joshua Watson, for nearly twenty years honorary treasurer of the S.P.C.K.—from 1814 to 1833—and foremost among the churchmen of his time for his generous support of all the leading activities of the Church, as well as for his unstinted personal labours for many good causes. All his family were of the historic High Church type, and his father had strongly desired to take Holy Orders; but this was discouraged by his business relatives who looked to him, as the elder son, to carry on the successful wine merchant house that had been established on Tower Hill, London. But the wine merchant lived to see one of his sons an honoured priest, and the other, Joshua, who helped his father in the London business, a recognized leader among the English laity. In the course of years, Joshua's health showed signs of weaken-

ing, and he withdrew as far as possible from his mercantile pursuits, and so set himself more free for work for the Church, to which he had always been closely drawn, especially the extension of the Church of England into the overseas colonies. He was first attracted by the spiritual needs of India and became an enthusiastic supporter of the pioneer Bishop Middleton. Then he turned his attention to Nova Scotia, and afterwards to Australia. But his first prominent post in the Church was as one of the founders of the National Society for the education of the poorer classes in England. When the treasurership of the S.P.C.K. was pressed upon him, he, with characteristic modesty, declared that he did not consider himself qualified for the post, but he was assured by a prominent cleric that the offer of it was made at the unanimous request of "archbishops and bishops" and many of the clergy. Mr Watson set to work to galvanize the semi-official S.P.G. and bring it into definite relation with the S.P.C.K., thereby becoming a valuable link between the two societies. It was at his suggestion that the S.P.G. was enabled to begin its wonderfully fruitful practice of block grants to the missionary bishops to be used according to their discretion.

It was probably Archdeacon Broughton's visit to England in 1834 that led to Watson's developing a keen interest in the Australian Church and forming a strong friendship for its ecclesiastical leader, with results that can scarcely be over-estimated, though his name is practically unknown in quarters in Australia where it might be looked for to receive honoured remembrance. Happily this great churchman's career is excellently recorded in Archdeacon Churton's memoir. He was not only a munificent benefactor, but a quite judiciously minded adviser, and long letters from him, preserved among Broughton's papers, testify to the deference which evidently the able Bishop paid to the counsel of his layman friend. Mr Watson left a good part of his extensive theological library to Sydney diocese.

The value of such a counsellor² can be judged by a few sentences from the speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley), as president of the S.P.C.K., when Joshua Watson, on account of ill health, resigned from the honorary treasurership of the Society. "There never had been an occasion," said the Archbishop, "on which the best interests of Church and State could be advanced or secured when Mr Watson had not been among the foremost, both with his means and with his counsel, to aid the cause. . . . For himself he could say that from no man had he received such ready and judicious counsel, or such friendly assistance—free from the smallest taint of selfishness, and guided by the most unaffected and retiring humility."

It is delightful when recalling the notable men in England who helped Broughton in the days of his early struggles both as archdeacon and bishop to see how their fellowship in promoting the building up of the Church in Australia (and elsewhere), seemed to deepen their affectionate friendship for one another. And this gave distinctly additional strength to the common cause for which they worked, because it suggested and forwarded unity of effort. It also fostered filial regard between the mother Church of England and her daughters across the seas. Bishop Montgomery when in Tasmania often said that it was of great value to a colonial bishop to have some influential friends at the Church's headquarters. From Broughton's days onward this has been shown to be true, and possibly there is a tendency to forget it in the popular advocacy, in these later days, of indigenous prelates. That this may result in real loss is more than suggested in the history of some of the colonial dioceses.

Letters from Broughton when he first received the offer of the archdeaconry, and again when the subject of the bishopric was being discussed during his visit to England in 1834, to the Rev. H. H. Norris are so intimate in tone as

² Edward Churton, *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, vol. ii, p. 22.

to disclose that this devoted man must also have been one of Broughton's closest friends.

Henry Handley Norris was the son of a wealthy London merchant, and being an only son he inherited in due course a substantial fortune from his father. After attending a private school near his home, he read with a tutor and then went up to Cambridge, where he graduated in 1793 from Peterhouse in Arts. A strong desire to take Holy Orders had come to him quite early in life but was resolutely discouraged by his father. About two years after leaving Cambridge the son was able to gratify his long desire. Meanwhile, he had met Joshua Watson and this resulted in a friendship that extended over sixty years, and in joint work for the Church and many social and charitable enterprises. Probably at Watson's suggestion, Henry Norris became a foundation member of the National Society and one of the executive committee of both the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. He gave largely of his means as well as of his time and abilities to the Church. Such notable service naturally led to preferments being offered him, but his humbleness of mind impelled him to shrink from them, though the urgency of his fellow workers and his friends succeeded in securing his acceptance of a prebendal stall at St Paul's, and later one at Llandaff, on the ground that these official honours would give him a more dignified position in his work for the many Church activities with which he was associated. After his death reference was made by a dignitary of the Church to "the influence which he nobly won for himself by his untiring public labours, sustained as those labours were to the latest period of his good old age."

Bishop Broughton's opinion of Norris is expressed in reply to a letter in 1841, notifying that his friend's health was giving cause for anxiety: "There is no man living whom I hold in higher estimation. And there is the less reason

for my hesitating to say so because there is no probability that we shall in this life meet again."

In Australia the circle of the intimate friends of the Bishop, both clerical and lay, was small, due to some extent, it may be conjectured, to the very conservative conception he obviously held of his office. He brought with him from England the prevailing monarchical tradition of the episcopate, and, of course, the development of lay co-operation in diocesan government had only reached the stage of discussion in his day. A well-informed layman writing from Sydney in the early days of the Bishop's administration said: "Our Church here is without dignitaries. The Bishop and his presbyters are all—no dean, no archdeacon—as if such officers were an abatement of the Bishop's authority. . . . Hence the Bishop fails to hear many things, and many things he hears obscurely or incorrectly."

But among his clergy Broughton soon discovered a scholar and sound churchman in the Rev. R. Allwood, B.A., subsequently a canon and for many years the honoured incumbent of St James's, Sydney. The calibre of this good man is shown by his being suggested as the first Bishop of Newcastle, but he pleaded uncertain health as a sufficient reason for declining promotion to the episcopate, though it was also known that his great humility made him shrink from the inevitable responsibility. But his Bishop, recognizing his high attainments and devoted character, utilized him in helping to set on foot a college at Sydney, of which he became the first principal, for the training of men for Holy Orders, and also gave him a considerable share in the tuition, in which the Bishop, too, took an active part. Broughton wrote of him as "a quite invaluable man."

One of the clergy who secured the marked confidence of his diocesan was the Rev. W. H. Walsh, M.A., who organized the parish of Christ Church, Sydney, and built the church, which was the first consecrated by Broughton. The Bishop described him as "not to be surpassed, I am con-

fidest, in any good and effective quality, so far as his strength, which he taxes to the utmost, will carry him, and the more valued by me because the last legacy, I may say, of the good Archdeacon of St Alban's."

But while the Bishop does not seem to have taken his clergy as a body into counsel about the administration of the diocese, he had a keen appreciation of their fidelity to their work and loyalty to himself. To this he refers in one of his reports of them to the S.P.G. "Of all my consolations, the principal is my having among my clergy so many of right views; earnest thinking, conformable and devoted men. We all work together with so much harmony that the impression is quite cheering, and the effect most exemplary."

Of the laity, one to whom the Bishop openly professed warm friendship was Mr Justice Burton, of the New South Wales Bench, and the author of the valuable book, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, published in 1840 after the issue of the report of a select committee of the House of Commons that had been appointed to consider the cause of the at least partial failure of the Australian colony, chiefly due, in the opinion of the committee, to "deficiency of religious instruction." Judge Burton was a distinctly definite churchman, and he strongly supported by information collected from official sources the view taken by the House of Commons report. In Bishop Broughton's plans for making the Church the instrument for improving the spiritual and intellectual condition of the people he earnestly concurred, and as these were by no means in agreement with the policy of the colonial government, possibly this had something to do with Mr Justice Burton's being overlooked when the Chief Justiceship of New South Wales became vacant. In any case this happened, and it led to the Australian judge obtaining a transfer to the Madras Bench and a Knighthood. Writing of his impending loss to Mr Watson, Broughton says: "I am about to lose, I fear, the most able, upright, and certain

supporter that I have, in the person of Judge Burton. . . . There is none to take his place; none on whom I can equally rely. And you may well suppose that to lose an ally of so much value, while the number and strength of adversaries are increasing every day does affect me very painfully." Upon the occasion of a visit by Judge Burton to England he carried with him a cordial introduction from the Bishop of his "valued friend" to Joshua Watson, and the mutual affection for the Australian bishop moved the two good laymen to devise a scheme for providing him with an episcopal residence (he was renting a house in Sydney at £300 a year), and also a quasi-domestic chaplain to relieve part of the strain of diocesan duty. But when Mr Watson submitted the plan to the Bishop it met with no encouragement. "Tell me, my dear friend," he wrote, "what could be done? Here were, and are, two places full of ungodliness for which no clergyman can be provided. I could not endure to witness the continuance of such a state of evil in order that my personal conditions should be served." And so there was neither a Bishops court nor a bishop's chaplain during Broughton's episcopate. And when he made his serious sacrifice of income to assist in the endowment of new sees in Australia, he put down his phaeton.

Chief Justice Sir Alfred Stephen, an earnest and loyal churchman, was another Australian friend and admirer of the Bishop. In an interview he kindly granted, when in his ninetieth year and long after his retirement, he talked with quiet enthusiasm of the first Australian prelate. "I remember the Bishop very well," said Sir Alfred, "for he was much in our house. Rather under medium height, sparely built, but with a fine face. He was a little lame, and I well remember the emphatic thump of his lame foot as he mounted the stairs in the St James's old pulpit." "And what kind of preacher was he?" "More solid than popular. His sentences were put together with almost judicial exactness,

so severely logical were they. And he was very thorough in the treatment of his subject."

After discussing some leading incidents and occasions of the Bishop's career his old friend sat musing for a while, and then he said in a meditative voice: "I think I loved Bishop Broughton better than any man I have ever known." Then after another pause he added: "But then there was Bishop Patteson. But Broughton was a very lovable man." Sir Alfred had a number of the Bishop's speeches, addresses, and sermons that had been printed, and many of these he lent to the interviewer.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY WORK AS BISHOP (1836-8)

IF Broughton had been depressed by the reception he met with from the Home authorities when he visited England in 1834 to bring before them the inadequate provision made for the moral and spiritual needs of New South Wales, it is gratifying to record that the welcome he received in all parts of the colony upon his return as Bishop of Australia, in June 1836, largely compensated for his disappointment in England. This is evident from the cheerful tone of his first letter to his mother after his enthronement at Sydney, and from the number of cordial addresses presented to him as he made his first tours among the people as their Bishop. The one from the principal residents at Sydney, including the Chief Justice and the heads of all the government departments, civil and military, drew from its recipient an eloquent reply in which he foreshadowed the responsibilities of a bishop to the whole population of his see.

But probably the most historically interesting address was that from the Methodists, both from its own contents and the cordial rejoinder it called forth:

We the ministers and members of the societies and congregations in New South Wales of "the people called Methodists," late in connection with the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., sometime fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, deceased, beg to present to your lordship our respectful congratulations on your lordship's safe return to the shores of Australia and especially to express our grateful appreciation of the counsels of His Majesty's Government in having erected these important colonies into a separate diocese, and in having placed at its head a clergyman so intimately acquainted with the character

and circumstances of the people, and so zealously concerned for their spiritual welfare as the experience of several years has proved your lordship to be. Firmly and conscientiously attached as a body to the United Church of England and Ireland as by law established we cannot but rejoice in every measure which promises to extend the usefulness and to increase the prosperity of that venerable hierarchy. Taught by the example of our reverend founder, and by the oft repeated declaration of our parent connection in annual conference assembled, not less than by our own honest conviction, that that Church has been the instrument, in the hands of Divine Providence, of preserving to the British realm the blessings of Protestant Christianity and of spreading far and wide the pure doctrines of our most holy Faith, we feel bound to tender to your lordship in these critical times the assurance that we shall ever pray that your lordship may be enabled so to discharge the duties of your sacred and most responsible office that your already extensive and rapidly extending see may become distinguished for the purity and undefiledness of its religion, for the firmness of its loyalty to our Most Gracious Sovereign, and for all the virtues and happiness of a divinely favoured and highly prosperous British colony.

To this the Bishop replied :

My Christian Brethren.—As in entering upon the pastoral charge of this extensive diocese my earnest prayer has been that in the discharge of duties so arduous God would vouchsafe to afford me such support as it is known to Him my weakness and inability required, so have I found an answer to that request in the cordial and affectionate spirit manifested towards me by so many of the inhabitants of New South Wales. Among the numerous testimonies which have been conveyed to me expressive of the satisfaction which is felt at the assumption by the Church in this colony of the Apostolical form and government, there is none from which I have derived more sincere gratification than from that which you have now presented on behalf "of the societies and congregations in connection with the Rev. John Wesley." All the associations connected with his name and memory are interwoven with the religion of the Church of England in whose bosom he was born, into which he was received in Baptism, in whose communion he lived and died, and whose solemn offices accompanied him to the tomb. It is, therefore, most natural that you should retain and inculcate a veneration for the same hallowed institutions, and I rejoice that there is so wide an extent of common ground upon which we can meet in harmony. My former acquaintance with this colony, to which you refer, has afforded me at least this advantage, which I gladly embrace, that it enables me to bear testimony to the truly Christian deportment by which your ministrations here have been distinguished. I desire to meet your address in the same spirit in which it is conceived, and in a persuasion that the sentiments which it conveys will be exemplified in all your proceedings. I pledge myself to you

that nothing shall be omitted on my part which can tend to promote the good understanding and brotherly feeling which the present circumstances have afforded us an occasion mutually to evince.

But while the spirit of the public welcomes tendered to the Bishop were quite encouraging, the lack of any provision even of a temporary home for himself and his family must have been a somewhat disconcerting surprise. In a later letter to his mother he says:

You know pretty accurately I believe what has occurred since we have been here—how we could not meet with a house, and were obliged to abide nearly three months at the "Pulteney Hotel," at much inconvenience and expense, and how we at last found our way into the house wherein we now are—which is in a very unfinished state, as well as badly planned, and the ground about it, (ten acres), was worse than in a state of nature, as all the trees which might have been disposed into some thing sightly, were cleared away and nothing left but scrubby bushes, with mounds of mortar and loads of litter all around—no garden, no gates, no anything that there ought to be, no store-room, pantry or closet in the house, and the kitchen chimney sending out smoke enough not only to fill the kitchen itself but all the other parts of the dwelling, so that no crevice could escape. We immediately began a reformation or revolution indoors and out, cured the smoking chimney, levelled the loads of rubbish, carried away the litter, made flower borders, walks and drives, put up gates and erected a pump—and yet it is a bleak, barbarous place, and if all the money in the world were spent upon it would never be any better than a cockney's suburban villa, without any of its neatness or comfort; in fact it has the appearance of a huge stone work-house. I ought, however, to except the sea view which is very magnificent, and the air is pure and healthy, of which we have a satisfactory proof in the good health we all enjoy. While the whole town, and even our neighbours, have been suffering severely from a strange kind of influenza, which has effected some lightly, some seriously, but almost all in some way or other, we have continued quite free from it, and I hope shall now escape it altogether. Since my arrival I have not been without sufficient occupation. My first Confirmation was at Parramatta church, and my own two dear children were the first on whom I laid hands, earnestly praying God to grant them every blessing temporal and spiritual. Since that I have held other Confirmations.

A day or two after his enthronement the Bishop summoned a meeting in the vestry of St James's to appoint a diocesan committee of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. societies, and a good gathering of influential men gladly adopted the proposal and also sent a grateful acknowledgment to the two

Societies of their generosity, and a subscription list was opened to supplement their grants. The Bishop announced that besides the two contributions of £3000 from the S.P.G. and £1000 from the S.P.C.K., reported by him as the results of his appeal in England before his consecration, those Societies had since each promised a further grant of £2000. This news of additional substantial support from the Homeland appears to have at once stimulated the enthusiasm of the meeting, for from those present more than £800 a year annually was promised, and nearly £200 given in immediate donations, and an organization was set up for canvassing throughout the diocese. By the time of the first annual meeting of the diocesan committee of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. the subscriptions promised, and largely paid, totalled more than £13,000—apart from all English contributions and many gifts of land. Thirty-two churches had been planned, some being in course of building, together, in many instances, with parsonages and schools. Well might the committee's annual report refer to this remarkable development as calling for "devout thankfulness not unmingled with astonishment." And the local contributions were supplemented, chiefly through the energetic canvass of the Rev. E. Coleridge, by individual subscriptions amounting to £3000 received from England, their Majesties the King and Queen heading the list, which included bishops, judges, and other leaders in public life. Broughton's impassioned personal appeal to the Mother Country, in 1834 and the following year, to do something at once to atone for its neglect of the thousands of convicts, and the rapidly growing population of free settlers in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, obviously had deeply stirred the Church in England.

Assistance to spiritual work amongst the people of the colony was also given by a local ordinance in July 1836, generally known as Bourke's Church Act,¹ which provided

¹James MacArthur, *New South Wales*, p. 246 (London, 1837).

for the support of Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterians, and Methodists by government grants to supplement local funds. Bishop Broughton in his rigid adherence to the principle of a State Church could not approve of this act, but he thought it right to take advantage of its provisions. This led to further liberality by the S.P.G. The Home Government having agreed to pay the outfit, passage, and a portion of the stipend of chaplains going to the colonies, the Society guaranteed to add, in cases of chaplains and candidates for ordination approved by the Bishop of London, £50 a year for stipend and £150 as a gratuity towards cost of settlement for fifteen such clergy and candidates for New South Wales and five for Van Diemen's Land.

But the Bishop had at once to face opposition as well as to be cheered by support. On the day of his arrival in Sydney Harbour on 2 June 1836, the local Legislative Council was opened by the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, in a speech which strongly urged the introduction of the Irish undenominational system of state education. The question had been under public discussion for some time before the Council met, and Marsden, the senior chaplain, boarded the Bishop's vessel as soon as it cast anchor, to report to him the position of affairs. Together with the majority of church people who shared Broughton's views when the matter was first mooted a few years earlier, there was a large body of Methodists, Presbyterians, and other Nonconformists, whose main reason for opposing the scheme seems to have been a fear of the increased influence it would give the Roman Catholics if the dominance in the administration of education was taken from the Church of England. In three weeks from the Bishop's arrival a large public meeting, on 29 June, over which the Bishop presided, unanimously adopted a petition in opposition to the bill suggested by the Governor. In associating himself with this meeting, the Bishop made it plain that he concurred in the Noncon-

formist position that only portions of the Bible selected by the Education Commissioners should be read in the schools, but he dissented from their agreement that such reading should be "without note or comment."

Together with his letters patent as archdeacon, Broughton was given by royal warrant a seat in the Council, but through the carelessness of the officials of the Home Government in not forwarding a similar warrant with the patent of the Bishop of Australia, Sir Richard Bourke, supported by the New South Wales judges, decided that the Bishop did not automatically become a member. The Bishop accordingly, besides joining with the Nonconformists in the general petition, presented a separate one in his own name.

It was not until more than a year after his arrival that the legal technicalities were adjusted and the Bishop took his seat in the Council. The petitions were merely "received" by the Council, which at once proceeded to authorize, by eight votes against four, £3000 being allocated to the proposed system, and the amount was passed in the Appropriation Bill a few days afterwards.² But no further steps were taken by the Council; and in 1838 other educational proposals were submitted. These are considered in a later chapter.³

Records in the Diocesan Registry at Sydney supply details of some of Broughton's early activities as bishop. At his first Confirmation, at Parramatta, on 23 August 1836, there were 116 confirmees, this large number probably being accounted for by many of the candidates coming from The King's School. Two days later forty-seven were confirmed in St Philip's, and on 30 August there were 141 confirmees in St James's, Sydney. The first ordination was on Sunday, 17 December, in St James's, when the Rev. Thomas Sharpe was advanced to the priesthood. He was appointed chaplain

² W. W. Burton, *State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, p. 100.

³ See Chapter IX.

on Norfolk Island, and so supplied a vacancy of many years in ministering to the convicts and the small body of soldiers and other free inhabitants. Soon after taking charge of the diocese the Bishop appointed the Rev. Wm Hutchins, a fellow undergraduate with him at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and like himself, a highly placed wrangler, to be Archdeacon of Van Diemen's Land. But Archdeacon Hutchins lived only until 1841, and on his decease, the appointment of a bishop for the island was considered. The suggestion, by Bishop Broughton, of a bishopric was at once received with sympathy, and within a year Francis Russell Nixon was consecrated Bishop of Tasmania on St Bartholomew's Day, 1842.

The letters patent of the Bishop of Australia not only invested him, and his successors, with the legal powers as to property of "a corporate sole," but also authorized the constitution of a consistorial court, on the basis of the English precedent. So on 2 November 1836 Broughton formally opened the court in a learned and lengthy address, in which he reviewed the origin of such tribunals as mainly designed for the maintenance of discipline over the clergy, and appointed the Revs S. Marsden, William Cowper, and Robert Cartwright as "Commissioners" to preside therein on his behalf, as Mr Jas. Norton, solicitor, the registrar of the diocese, to be its registrar. In the course of his address the Bishop said:

The present being the first example which has occurred in this colony of a proceeding such as this which we are now engaged in, I deem it both useful and respectful to offer some observations from which the nature and tendency of this procedure may be collected with greater certainty than might be possible from merely hearing read the letters patent which authorize and require the constitution of any ecclesiastical court. Stripped of its technical phraseology, the appointment amounts to this—that the Bishop of Australia and his successors receive from His Majesty full power and authority to exercise jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical, in and throughout his appointed see and diocese, according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, in the several matters and causes specified in the letters patent.

The Bishop in another part of his address expressed doubt as to whether the proper judicial machinery existed in the colony for constituting the court a properly organized legal tribunal. But he twice put it in action. When two of his clergy seceded to the Roman Church, the Bishop solemnly degraded them from exercising Holy Orders in the Church of England. He prepared an elaborate set of rules to guide the commissioners of his Consistorial Court in carrying the sentence into operation. And, in the second instance, he relied upon his letters patent in reference to the Court, as evidence of his disciplinary authority,⁴ when Sir John Franklin, Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, assumed the right to institute, through the local executive body, a charge against two chaplains, without any reference to the Bishop. Apparently the Bishop's spiritual claim was recognized, as the charges do not appear to have been proceeded with by the civil authorities.

Additional details of Broughton's early work as a bishop are given in a letter to Mr Joshua Watson, treasurer of the S.P.C.K., who shared with Edward Coleridge the Bishop's warm friendship, and the distinction of being in the van of those churchmen in England who were enthusiastic in forwarding the growth of the Church in Australia." The Bishop wrote:—

You will expect some account of the state in which I found affairs on my arrival: but the constant state of engagement in which I have been ever since we left the ship will forbid my giving you more than a very brief one. You will be gratified to learn that a marked and general improvement has taken place in the tone and feeling of the people towards the Church of England. Indeed I do hope with prudent management to lay a foundation very effectively for its general establishment throughout the colony: and though our Governor has taken pains to impress the Secretary of State with a notion that the people here partake so much of the spirit of the age as to abhor the idea of a dominant Church, I hope by God's help that ours may be dominant in the truest and best sense of the word: that is by the consent and approval of the country.

⁴ Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (Australian Colonies) Correspondence laid before the House of Commons on motion of Mr Gladstone, 1850, pt ii, p. 7.

The causes of this happy change are various: but two I will name. The first is the reaction of Protestant feeling which has occurred in consequence of the Governor driving on so urgently, and without disguise, his plans for strengthening the Romish Church and depressing ours: the second is the aid afforded by the societies (S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.) towards the religious improvement of the country, which the people value not so much on account of the money as from the evidence which such an act affords them of the regard which is entertained for them by their fellow churchmen in England. They are proud of this, and have come forward I am quite certain to the full extent of their means, to match your liberality. I feel that in having such a spirit to direct, and so to apply it as to insure the greatest possible share of benefit to the present and future generations, I have a weight of responsibility resting upon me enough to make me tremble. See what this country has arisen to in less than 50 years, and then calculate what it will arrive at in one or two centuries. You will I am certain feel for me, placed here as it were single-handed to work this mighty engine. May God give me His Grace to devote myself to the work; neither with foolish self-confidence nor with nerveless timidity. Many of those who are now ranging themselves on my side are influenced I greatly suspect by political, personal, or other secondary motives: but I recollect a hint I once heard from you that it is our wisdom to avail ourselves of assistance so proffered, without too minutely scrutinizing motives. And this I see is true; and lawful if effected without dissimulation or compromise of our own principles, because it makes even bad men minister to the general good of society and may probably conduce even to their own benefit directly or indirectly.

I must, however, have assistants or the work will be beyond not only my power but beyond the power of any human being, assisted by such a portion of grace from Above as we can rationally expect or hope for. If we would act in God's strength we must resort to those means of strength by which God has appointed us to work; and among these I am sure one of the first, if not the very first, in importance is an effective ministry. The people are crying out on all sides for clergymen; and the Government have agreed to appoint them, though upon miserably insufficient stipends. In my letter to the S.P.G. I have explained the sentiments which I have adopted with regard to the most certain and advantageous mode of supplying ourselves with suitable labourers. Pray have the goodness, for the sake of the holy cause which depends upon it, to take my proposal into consideration; and if your judgment can view it as holding forth a favourable promise will you by means of your friends at Cambridge and Oxford make known, as extensively as may be, the opening which is afforded here. There would be I have no doubt many who would be disposed to strike into this path. Some degree of enthusiasm must probably enter into a man's composition to induce him to brave such an apparent risk, but never mind. If the enthusiasm be no more than an ardent zeal to promote the glory of God and the good of His Church and people, conformably with those

laws under which God has been pleased to appoint that our ministry shall be exercised, so much the better that it exists. A cold, fastidious, unaccommodating man will do no good here; but a generous devoted spirit united with competent learning, and chastened by good common sense will not fail to make his way.

About a month after his letter to Mr Watson, the Bishop wrote at great length to Edward Coleridge, and the letter deserves placing on record as the foundation of a life-long friendship that deepened as the years went by into a strong affection. The more practical parts of it only can be given, but one of its fruits was that the Eton master became the English commissary of the first Australian bishop.

Sydney, New South Wales,
26th July 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,

In testimony of my having neither undervalued nor forgotten the truly Christian interest which at the time of our separation you expressed in the welfare of our religious establishments in this country, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to commence a correspondence with you upon the subject. You will, I am certain, readily understand that nothing could have prevailed on me to resume my station here but the conviction of there being a great duty imposed upon me to discharge, from which I could not shrink without proving myself treacherous and unworthy. It is even so—that I find all my anticipations for the extent of the dangers which I should have to encounter more than realized; while I am at the same time confirmed in the soundness of the view which I took as to the duty of undertaking this office by the unanimity of the reception which was attended me from all Protestants, and their general persuasion that a stranger to the colony arriving in the same capacity with myself must have been incapable of acting so early and so effectively as to meet the present emergency. I mean because a stranger could not at once have known the people; and the people could not at once have put confidence in a stranger.

Here therefore I am; set in the front of the battle against the force of the Roman Catholics; and having almost singly to sustain against them the cause of the Church of England. The Protestantism of the place is deeply tinged with sectarianism or indifference; and by far too many of those professedly within our own pale are deplorably ignorant of the grounds upon which their Church is founded. I do, therefore, consider that in looking for support in this severe difficulty to my far distant brethren at Home, I am not asking for what is unreasonable in itself; or likely to prove, if granted, unserviceable to that cause which they must wish to see flourish all over the world, and I consider the anxiety which you

expressed upon the subject not only as a gratifying proof of your confidence in myself but as affording even a providential opening for our obtaining much assistance which at this crisis would be all important.

My anxious desire, then, a desire which I assure you occupies my days and nights in thinking how it may best be accomplished, is to obtain assistance in prosecuting three specific purposes, I may say four, as that relating to schools may be divided into two. The first of these is the erection of two additional churches in the town of Sydney for the parishes of St Andrew and St Lawrence; which though containing about 7000 Protestants have no place of worship whatever connected with our Church. We shall be able among ourselves to raise an important sum, but not sufficient to do all that is desirable, since these churches ought to have some such degree of architectural pretension as may make them capable, in some sort, of bearing a comparison with the structure which the Roman Catholics are now completing.⁵ They ought, also, to be large for a better reason than this in order that we may be able to offer the greater number of free sittings.

Secondly, I am desirous of obtaining from the Home Government, an order to secure us in possession of the King's School at Parramatta, which was built under an order from Earl Ripon (then Viscount Goderich), expressly as an adjunct of the Church of England; but which our present Governor is anxiously bent upon detaching and handing over to I cannot tell whom. My wish, therefore, would be to have such an effort made, on the part of any persons of influence who may wish us well, as may obtain the positive settlement of the land and buildings upon perpetual trustees for the purposes of its original appropriation. The Government will give no further positive aid towards the establishment. Well: I say, be it so: but do not let them withdraw what they have given. Only let us be permitted henceforth to take upon ourselves the burden of maintaining or increasing it. The School now contains above 100 boys, of the best families in the country, and you will therefore at once perceive what a serious blow it must give to the principles of the Church of England if they should be withdrawn from her training. To afford them due accommodation the buildings require enlarging and improving, at an expense of from £800 to £1000; and in order to impress upon the entire establishment a religious character, and to attach it more closely to the Church, I should be very desirous if I had the funds, of annexing to it a small chapel which would cost some hundreds of pounds more.

In the third place, I am under the necessity of straining every nerve for the maintenance of our parochial schools upon the English national system. They have existed under the superintendence of the clergy from the very foundation of the colony; but more extensively since 1824; and, under the pressure of every kind of difficulty

⁵ This has developed into St Mary's Cathedral, an imposing edifice which, with its Chapter House and other buildings, is now the finest religious structure in Sydney, and occupies one of its noblest sites.

in obtaining and keeping effective masters and mistresses, have been the instruments of effecting very extensive good. As an example I will mention that from one master I have a list of the names of 120 of his scholars who are now settled in respectable stations in life, and have most of them families growing up in habits of piety and good order: and so, proportionately, in many other instances. You may judge of what importance these things are in a country like this. . . . My fourth and last object is to obtain the services of more clergymen. The urgency of this measure will appear to you when I state that in this town of Sydney with at least 14,000 Protestants, I have but one clergyman on our own establishment: *pro tem* one of the missionaries from New Zealand. Against such a pressure of duty it is impossible for us, few and feeble as we are, to contend with effect, and our cause must accordingly decline, if not perish, unless we can be reinforced. Do you know, or can you find, any men of good education, good sense, and orthodox sentiments, with zeal of mind and strength of body to go through a good deal of duty, who would come out to us?

CHAPTER VIII

OVERSEAS VISITATIONS (1838-9)

IN his early programme of work the Bishop planned to visit first the parent colony of New South Wales and afterwards to launch out on voyages to the settlement at Port Phillip, the colony of Van Diemen's Land, and Norfolk Island. And to these was added New Zealand, though that colony had not yet been declared a British possession, and so technically was not part of his diocese.

Within two years of his return from England as a bishop he was able to start on his visitation of Port Phillip and Van Diemen's Land, first spending a few months, after touring New South Wales, at headquarters in dealing with some questions of general policy. Prominent amongst these was his political relationship to the local Government. As the Governor and the judges of New South Wales had decided—as mentioned in the preceding chapter—that a new royal warrant would be necessary to entitle Broughton to continue this membership he held, under the warrant granted him as archdeacon, in the Legislative Council of the colony, he did not take his seat in that body after he became Bishop until the new warrant reached Australia, but on 4 July 1837 he was duly sworn in. Before leaving England after his consecration the Bishop had, in a letter dealing with several matters, suggested to the Secretary of State whether, in view of a proposed amendment to the constitution of New South Wales, introducing the popular elective element for some members of the new Legislative Council, it would not be

wise for him to retire from his membership as a nominee member, but he added: "The expiration of the Act under which the present constitution was framed is so near at hand that it appears scarcely necessary to propose any alteration while it continues to subsist." Lord Glenelg concurred in this suggestion, expressing himself to the Bishop as "strongly of opinion that the influence attached to your station and character in the colony will be more beneficially exerted for the prosecution of the great object which you have in view by your not being a party to the deliberations and discussions on matters of general policy which must occupy the attention of the local legislature." Upon hearing of this concordat, Sir Richard Bourke wrote to the Colonial Secretary, under date 11 June 1836:

It is probable that before your lordship can receive this communication the arrangements for the formation of a new legislative body will have been completed. Should not this be the case, I would respectfully submit for consideration how very trifling will be the advantage gained by placing a dignitary of the Church of England in the Council as compared with the ill feeling which is created by the omission of the clergy of all other forms of Christian worship. Amongst this people of mixed creeds the vesting a minister of one only with any power in the State has of late years been regarded with great jealousy by all the rest, and as there is very little to be gained by it I should think the present a most favourable conjunction for getting rid of the cause of strong and increasing complaint.

But there was delay in framing the amended constitution for the colony, so the Bishop continued to sit in the Legislative Council until he decided to resign, and upon his ultimate retirement from that body and from the Executive Council also, received very complimentary messages from the Colonial Secretary of State and from his fellow members, acknowledging his great services in assisting to carry on the government of the colony.

It was in the early part of April 1838 that the Bishop left Sydney in H.M.S. *Conway* for his first visit to the Port Phillip settlement. In his report to the S.P.G. he says:

I arrived in Melbourne in time to officiate on Easter Sunday (April 15) and was gratified to find the good feeling of the inhabitants had induced them to provide a small wooden building, which, however humble in character, served the purpose of a place of assembly for public worship. My satisfaction was still further increased by learning that the service of the Church of England was celebrated twice every Sunday; the prayers of the Liturgy and a sermon being read by Mr James Smith,¹ a most respectable settler there, whose name I have sincere pleasure in recording with all the honour which my testimony can carry with it, in connection with this example of zeal, piety, and faithfulness, displayed in the service of God and His Church. The inhabitants have given further proof of their goodwill by instituting a district committee of the central committee of the diocese, the president being Captain Lonsdale, police magistrate, whose example and encouragement are cheerfully afforded in the promotion of all religious and useful undertakings. On Easter Sunday I officiated in the small wooden church, the congregation being numerous and attentive, and at the ministration of the Holy Sacrament the communicants partook of the sacred elements for the first time in that remote region. A meeting was held and means devised for erecting a larger and more substantial church, as well as a clergyman's residence. A school is maintained here, chiefly at the expense of the diocesan committee. The number of scholars is not considerable, but limited though the school be it is valuable as a commencement.

During the week the Bishop consecrated the Church of England portion of the Melbourne cemetery, and also visited the aboriginal mission station conducted by Mr Langhorne, of which the Bishop reported that "the natives, chiefly young people, appeared to have made some progress in reading, and understood something of the elements of religion. With the grown-ups little seemed to have been done, and they apparently hung about the mission for the food they could get there. Nor did they show any disposition to give up any of their aboriginal habits."

At a second visitation of Victoria in 1843 the Bishop first went to Geelong, landing there on 26 September. He reported to church people that he could not supply them with a resident minister because of "the utter state of destitution" in which he was placed as to his further supply of clergymen. He at once began conducting the daily services

¹ More than once one of the early mayors of Melbourne.

of the Church in the court-house, holding meetings, and collecting information for his future guidance.² Two years later, when the population of Geelong was only 450, a movement was started for building a church upon a site given by the Government, and when the Bishop made his second visit to the town he, being an excellent amateur architect, drew a sketch plan for a church next to the brick school-house which had already been erected. Without waiting for the detailed plans from Mr Blacket, a Sydney architect, the Bishop laid a foundation-stone. The same afternoon he confirmed sixteen candidates, and consecrated a burial ground. His own report of this visit to Geelong records:

From the 27th of September (the day after landing) until my departure from Geelong, I continued to have daily prayers every morning, and the prayers with a sermon every evening. The attendance was very good, far beyond my expectations; and it was continued throughout by the parishioners with unabated seriousness and regularity. At the same time I made arrangements for the young and others who had not been confirmed to attend me every day for the purpose of examination, and thus engaged, I passed a fortnight quietly and happily in the oversight of the flock of God committed to my charge. On Saturday 7th October, I held the Confirmation of sixteen candidates in the new school-house.

At the following Sunday morning service he admitted the confirmees to Holy Communion.

Proceeding by steamer to Melbourne on the Monday he was received by the incumbent of St James's parish, the Rev. A. C. Thompson, a retired Indian chaplain, and some representative laymen. The erection of St James's Church had advanced sufficiently to enable services to be held in it, and the Bishop administered Confirmation to eighty candidates. A meeting took place to further the liquidation of the church-building debt, Mr Latrobe, superintendent of the Port Phillip settlement, Judge Jeffcott, and other prominent residents taking part in it. Another large gathering was held to promote the building of a church on Eastern

² Rev. George Goodman, *The Church in Victoria*, p. 26 (Melbourne, 1892).

Hill, Melbourne, when the Bishop presided, from which has developed the prominent church and parish of St Peter's, though no further steps were taken for two years. Mr Latrobe then laid the foundation-stone, and thereafter the movement was energetically supported. The Bishop was impressed by the rapid development of Melbourne between 1838, the time of his first visitation, and what he found five years later. "Melbourne then contained," he writes in his report, "but three houses deserving the name, and its population consisted of a few hundred souls. It is now a large metropolis with suburbs covering a large extent of ground, and with a population approaching to 8000." He adds that on the day following this second arrival in Melbourne he "made arrangements with Mr Thompson (the chaplain), for prayers in St James's Church every Wednesday and Friday morning, and for prayers and a sermon on the evening of the same days in every week during my stay." After about a fortnight, in which he took part in the final preparation of the candidates, eighty-seven were confirmed. During the two months of the Bishop's stay in Melbourne he made himself acquainted not only with the pressing spiritual necessities of the city, but also with the outlying districts. The thought of leaving Geelong and Gippsland (which formed part of a tour through the western areas) as he expressed it, "destitute of all ministerial aid, and consolation for the sick and dying, all superintendence of the schools, and still more of every lawful means of partaking of the holy sacraments made a profound impression upon me."

At the close of the Bishop's first visit to the Port Phillip settlement he went, towards the end of April 1838, across to Van Diemen's Land, where he had twice been while an archdeacon, and spent about a month in the island. In a letter to his wife from Hobart Town, he wrote:

I must not omit to let you know what I am doing and have to do here, and you will find that I am not spending my time in



REV. R. ALLWOOD



REV. W. COWPER

idleness. Today at 11 I am to attend the examination of the Hutchins Grammar School, after that a meeting to establish a committee of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. societies. Tomorrow being the Queen's birthday I attend the Governor's levee at 2, but not the ball and evening festivities. Friday is a day of rest. Saturday I am to consecrate a new church lately built here called St George's. Sunday I have an ordination³ at St David's, Monday a confirmation there. Tuesday consecrate the church at New Town and confirm there, and on Thursday attend the public examination of the orphan school—which appears to conclude my public duties. On my late tour I left this place early in the month and went to New Norfolk where I had a confirmation of nearly sixty candidates. I went twelve miles further on to sleep, and on the following days to Hamilton, Bothwell, Campbell Town, and Launceston, by nearly the same road that we went when we were here in 1833. We heard everywhere much about bushrangers but did not fall in with them, though they must have been often very near us. They were captured while we were at Richmond, and are now in prison here.

The Bishop got back to Sydney in June and remained there until December, when he went, in H.M.S. *Pelorus*, to New Zealand to visit the Church Missionary Society's missions there. The question was raised as to whether he should have taken this trip, as the islands had not then been taken over by the British Crown, and the C.M.S. authorities at first did not seem to have encouraged him to do so. Two years later the Bishop discussed the subject in a letter to his firm friend and helper, Mr Joshua Watson, honorary treasurer of the S.P.C.K.:

You ask me why I visited New Zealand, not being within my diocese? The ostensible reason was that Sir R. Inglis on behalf of the C.M.S. asked me to do so. But the reason of my complying with the request lay deeper. I was determined to prove to the Romanists by practical evidence that they are guilty of injustice in affirming as they constantly do, and draw no small advantage from the assertion, that we neither have, nor can exercise any episcopal powers except such as are derived from our letters patent under the Great Seal. I grant that I would never, within the Queen's Dominions, exercise episcopal functions except within those limits which the Queen appoints, for this, I contend, is the object and effect of letters patent—not to confer spiritual powers but to define the range within which each prelate shall exercise them. Beyond the limits of the British sovereignty I contend that every bishop has an inherent right, in virtue of the powers conferred on

³ Mr T. J. Ewing made a deacon—the first ordained in Tasmania.

him at his consecration, to officiate episcopally, wherever the good of the Church may be promoted by his doing so, and there has been no episcopate previously established upon which he would be an intruder. Here, then, was a case in point. In New Zealand was a branch of the Church of Christ, not within the British Dominions, not within the bounds of any other episcopate, the members of which needed and invoked my offices. In doing so, I thought I removed (and so I know the Romanists consider that I did) all plea of their saying that I possessed no powers except under the authority of a temporal patent. I am for ever henceforth in a situation to give a contradiction to this false pretention; because I have exercised all the powers of a bishop—ordaining, confirming, consecrating, and issuing marriage licences in a country to which my letters patent neither extended nor pretended to extend. Now, indeed, New Zealand forms a portion of the British Empire, and therefore, as I have reported to the Archbishop, a portion also of my diocese and of His Grace's province. But then it did not, and I assume to have done all that I did do *virtute officii* alone, in and by that spiritual right which I derived from those three bishops who by the laying on of hands admitted me to their own order.⁴

On Christmas Day 1838, the Bishop preached, and reminded his hearers of the scene on the beach at Rangihona, when the first sermon in New Zealand had been delivered twenty-four years before by "his venerable friend," Samuel Marsden. He also administered Confirmation to about twenty children of the missionaries, and nearly double that number of Maoris. A memorable event on Epiphany Day 1839 was the ordination to the priesthood of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, who had been admitted by the Bishop to the diaconate at Sydney and had accompanied him to New Zealand. Mr Hadfield had been an undergraduate at Oxford, but on medical advice, sought a warmer climate before he had taken his degree. He became a devoted missionary in New Zealand, and ultimately the first Bishop of Wellington, and an honoured friend of Bishop G. A. Selwyn. His influence with the Maoris in the early days of his ministry is said to have been remarkable. In his report to the C.M.S. authorities in London of his work in New Zealand, Bishop Broughton says: "At every station I visited the Maori converts were numerous, but the missionaries refer to instances

⁴ Dean Jacobs, *Dioceses of New Zealand*, p. 70 (London, 1889).

throughout the country where the number of natives is less by one third, or even one half, than they were on the first establishment of Europeans being formed." He got the *Pelorus* to leave, at his cost, medicine and food that could be spared from the ship, and on his return to Sydney, preached about New Zealand in St James's Church, and received a collection which recouped his outlay and enabled him to send further medicines and comforts. He pleaded for more clergy, who "should be subject to regular ecclesiastical authority," for the country. The C.M.S. missionaries presented an address to the Bishop, to which he made a cordial reply. He also urged upon the church authorities in England that a bishopric should be founded without delay.

From New Zealand the Bishop voyaged in January 1839 to Norfolk Island in H.M.S. *Pelorus*, and upon his return to Sydney, in his annual report to the diocesan branch of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., he detailed his impressions of the visit as follows:

Since the establishment of the diocesan committee it has been my custom annually to address to you, previously to the general meeting, a statement or recapitulation of my principal proceedings in visiting different parts of the diocese, and in there carrying the purposes of the committee into effect. Since our last year's meeting, the time which it has been in my power to allot to distant engagements of that nature has been devoted principally to the inspection of the New Zealand Mission, and the visitation of Norfolk Island: both situations being, though on very different grounds, the objects of strong interest. The operations of our committee not extending to the former territory, any description of my proceedings in New Zealand would be out of place in an address to you; and I have accordingly forwarded the report of them to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, which maintains the mission for the conversion of the natives of those Islands. With regard to Norfolk Island, this committee has always evinced a disposition to contribute as fully as its resources might admit of to the prisoners' comfort and improvement. Much has been done in aid of both, by the measure of supplying them with Bibles and other religious books, which by our connexion with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge we are enabled to do at a very moderate cost, as the Government may from time to time be disposed to require them. Some small allowance we may also advantageously make towards the more decent celebration of public wor-

ship, and the encouragement of schools under the superintendence of the chaplain; whether for adult prisoners, or for the few children of free parents (principally military), who may be for a time sojourners on the Island. Beyond this, I am not aware that the committee has the power of serving these outcasts from society, except by continually remembering them in their prayers that God will show "pity upon all prisoners and captives." I cannot quit the subject without observing, that the spectacle which Norfolk Island presents if it could be generally beheld would furnish the most solemn warning against vice and the strongest dissuasive from sin which the world contains. The natural beauties of the Island can hardly be surpassed; whence the spectacle of from 1200 to 1400 men convicted of the deepest crimes, and by the necessary severity of the law sequestered there from all human converse but that of their fellow criminals, is but rendered more painful by the force of contrast. Condemned they are to a heavy penalty: to a state of existence, which, although if their conduct be but moderately good it entails no very severe personal suffering, is yet in itself lonely, so strictly guarded, so subjected to perpetual inspection, and, except upon the condition, most difficult to them, of a reformation of character, so utterly hopeless, that humanity shudders to think of a life so passed by men whose own reflections on their past conduct can afford little or no alleviation of present suffering. The committee, however, I am persuaded, will take so much interest in the fate of these prisoners, as to hear with pleasure that they exhibit one encouraging symptom and redeeming characteristic in a very general disposition to pay attention to the ordinances of religion, and profess to be sensible of its comforts.

The Scriptures are the ordinary study of very many; and the possession of a Common Prayer Book, or other improving work, is earnestly sought. During my stay, this disposition was very extensively manifested; although I endeavoured to cut off all motive for the insincere assumption of a religious demeanour by causing it to be generally understood that I had no power to interfere with their temporal condition, the improvement of which must depend altogether upon their own improvement in conduct. Since my return, I have had a small manual of devotions drawn up for their use, printed, and forwarded to the Island; and I propose, as favourable occasions may arise, to avail myself of the resolution of the committee, passed on the 4th December last, which places at my disposal such books as I might please to select for the use of that penal station. These will be entrusted to the charge of the Rev. Thomas Sharpe,⁶ the humble-minded, persevering, and exemplary chaplain, under whom are placed the members of the Church of England, and those belonging to different Protestant persuasions, comprising rather more than one half of the entire convict population. It is my earnest prayer that they may not fail to profit by the means of improvement thus afforded them. Some hearts I trust

⁶ First ordained in Australia.

may be really reached; and be unfeignedly and seriously penitent; nor am I under so much apprehension of their falling away while they continue resident in that Island, as in the event of their restoration to the world, whose snares and temptations they have in past times shown themselves so little capable of resisting. But God's goodness is not limited, and will manifest itself, I trust, in the effectual recovery even of some of these.

The Sydney Diocesan Register Book also records that forty-two candidates were confirmed on the Island, in a government room used for purposes of public worship, on 20 January 1839.

The S.P.G., in an annual report reviewing letters received from the Bishop after his long voyages and journeyings, says: "These additional facts, if possible, increase the confidence which the Society has long felt in the prelate who presides over the Church in Australia, and who devotes himself with unwearied zeal and signal ability to the propagation of the Gospel in a land where before his appointment the voice of the Christian teacher was so seldom heard."

CHAPTER IX

REVIVAL OF EDUCATION CONTROVERSY. THE BISHOP'S PASTORALS (1839-44)

SOME account has already been given¹ of the determined stand taken by the Bishop against the proposal of Governor Sir Richard Bourke, at the opening session of the Legislative Council in 1836, to introduce a public education policy following the plan generally known as the Irish system, in which the religious element consisted of "unsectarian extracts" from the Holy Scriptures to be read by the school teachers "without note or comment," though special classes could be formed by ministers of religion for pupils of their several denominations. But the widespread opposition called forth by the scheme resulted in its being abandoned.

On the return of the Bishop towards the close of January 1839 from his visitation voyages, he found that Sir George Gipps, a fellow pupil of the Bishop at the King's School, Canterbury, who had succeeded Governor Bourke, was supporting educational reform, but from a different angle. The new scheme was introduced into the Legislative Council by four preliminary resolutions: "(i) That in the opinion of this Council all classes of the community are entitled to equal assistance from the public revenue in the establishment of schools or places of public education. (ii) That owing to the extreme dispersion of the population of this colony, a system of education to be effectual should be as comprehensive as possible. (iii) That in the opinion of this Council a system of education may be established that shall

at least comprehend all classes of Protestants. (iv) That if the public schools of the colony be established upon principles essentially Protestant, some corresponding advantages ought to be secured for the schools of Roman Catholics." It was, therefore, proposed to grant £3000 per annum towards schools which should be available for "all classes of Protestants," and £1000 for Roman Catholic schools. Petitions with signatures totalling nearly 3000 were signed in opposition to the scheme by church people from all parts of the colony.

At the annual meeting of the diocesan committee of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. in Sydney the Bishop had once again laid down the principles which he urged must guide the Church in her attitude towards educational questions. In this address he said:

With regard to schools, I would only state that the progress of events, and the present state of affairs, clearly show that there can be no renovation of the human race, or the restoration of that state of society which ought to exist considering the length of time the Gospel of Christ has been preached upon the earth, except through the means of a Christian education. This matter has been much forced upon my attention, and I am fully persuaded that no system of education can be sound that is not based on the principles of revealed religion. There are theories afloat on the subject which appear to be liberal, and are encouraged by many, but the system we uphold is an ancient one, and under it have grown up many who are good subjects to God and their native land. We have an additional impulse which our ancestors had not. If they did not teach the people proper doctrines they remained ignorant and the evil was only negative, but now, if we do not instruct them in what is right, others will, and are ready enough to, instruct them in what is bad, and so the evil is positive.

As he had now been legally reinstated as a member of the Council two years before, he was able in person to oppose the resolutions, and he did so in a speech which took more than two hours to deliver, and must ever hold a historic place in the records of Christian oratory by reason of its inherent power and its remarkable immediate effect. When the Bishop sat down no member of the Council rose to carry on the debate, and the resolutions were immediately with-

drawn. Whatever may be thought of the views he championed, the Bishop evidently achieved a dramatic triumph, especially when it is remembered that he was challenging the proposals of the Governor of the colony, and his personal friend. That he was conscious of this painful position is plain from Broughton's saying in an early stage of the speech: "I neither dread censure nor covet applause for what I may do in the discharge of duty: and in respect of my conduct in the present question I am quite satisfied to abide the award of impartial posterity, whatever it may be." Because of its extreme length the speech precludes reproduction here in full, but may be consulted in the parliamentary reports of 1839. Its main contentions were: (i) That the church parochial schools, instead of being quite inefficient (as they had been represented) were really meeting the necessities of the situation with considerable satisfaction, having regard to the difficulties arising from the impossibility of providing a sufficient and qualified body of teachers at the slender salaries available, and the necessarily irregular attendance of pupils living in widely scattered areas. And the Bishop challenged an actual examination of his schools in comparison with any others in the colony. (ii) That the proposal to provide one type of "comprehensive" schools for all Protestants was an invasion of the right of Church of England scholars to be instructed in the Christian faith as interpreted by the Church Catechism, and that the idea of being able to combine these scholars in a common school with children of the various sects of English Nonconformity was wholly fallacious in principle and impossible in practice. "There is but one step," said the Bishop, "from the persuasion that all forms of religion are alike to the still more fatal persuasion that all religions are unimportant." (iii) That the provision of a separate grant for Roman Catholic schools was, from the governing principle of the proposed education system, a logical inconsistency.

The eloquence and earnestness of the Bishop's address may be gathered from its peroration :

To your Excellency then I venture to address myself, in hope that the freedom with which I have spoken my sentiments has not betrayed me into any breach of moderation, or of that respect which I entertain for your Excellency's high station, the rights of which I would not invade for any earthly consideration. I appeal to your Excellency for that protection, which you alone perhaps of all men have power to afford us, against the calamity which threatens us. It is the Church of England, rather, which in her extremity appeals to you, as a mother to her offspring, beseeching you, that no supposed political necessity, no yielding or concession to those who seek her hurt, should cause your Excellency to withdraw from her the support of your powerful arm, at the very moment when she most requires it should be raised in her defence. Can your Excellency be insensible to the dangers which are rising around us on every side? Your Excellency will perhaps impute to me that in painting those dangers, I have argued upon extreme cases—it may be so; but my reasoning as to the future prospects of the Church, if the proposed plan be carried into effect, is not on that account to be slighted. In all religious declinations from that which is good there is that tendency to advance, by necessary though perhaps by slow degrees, to the extreme of evil, which renders it highly important to resist the beginnings of it. Therefore I have argued most justly in endeavouring to dissuade this Council from once admitting a false principle, by shewing them what it is in its consequences, when these shall have reached their natural and full proportions. I can imagine nothing more evident than that this system of education which is now proposed, will have the effect of totally changing the religious aspect of this community. We shall not have, as your Excellency describes our present condition, here a churchman, there a dissenter, here a Presbyterian, there a Roman Catholic; but we shall have first an increased diversity, and finally, growing out of this, we shall have the Unitarian and Romanist persuasions almost equally dividing the land. Your Excellency I am aware may regard the views which I have taken as the mere prejudices of education and habit, by which I am still trammelled, though your more vigorous mind may have broken through and cast them off. I beseech you, Sir, do not yield to that way of thinking, if you desire your own happiness or the happiness of us all. Sir, I will venture my own soul upon the assertion that these are not prejudices; but truths as divine and eternal as God who is the Father of them; and who has set up the Church of England, I confidently feel, to be a faithful witness to them throughout the world. The schools which, if your Excellency's plan be carried, must be abolished, are to her as her right hand, by means of which she is to execute the work which is given her to do; or rather they are the artery through which the life-blood is conveyed from the heart to the extremities of the body. Sever this, and she

dies! It is the heaviest and severest stroke which in this colony has ever been aimed at the welfare of the Church; and if it must fall, I wish that some other hand at least than your Excellency's should inflict the blow. Does your Excellency desire support in the position which I urge you to take? You have it then in the petitions which I and other members have brought to this table, bearing no fewer than 3000 signatures. Can your Excellency then doubt what the real feelings of the people are? The people, properly so called, are, I hesitate not to say, in favour of the Church of England; and there cannot be a measure which shall, in the just sense, be so popular as that which shall ensure to them and to their children the continuance of her edifying services. I have now concluded. Whatever the result of this debate may be, I have acquitted my own conscience. Yet I do not affect to deny that I await the determination of the Council with intense anxiety; knowing that if it be in favour of these resolutions, my responsibilities must be increased in a fearful proportion, and, what weighs with me still more, the Church of England, in so far as this colony is concerned, must be placed in a condition of difficulty and peril such as she has not for some centuries of her history been called upon to encounter.

That the Governor and the Bishop, who did not allow their political differences to mar their private friendship, found their final earthly resting-place within the walls of Canterbury Cathedral, whither they must often have gone together in their schoolboy days, is a veritable romance of Christianity.

No further definite action in the direction of educational reform in the colony took place for some years after the defeat of Governor Gipps's scheme, but it is evident from the Bishop's address to his S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. committee a few months after his notable speech in the Legislative Council that he felt the persistent policy of the local Government must finally prevail. He therefore outlined a plan for dividing New South Wales for the purposes of diocesan education into four districts, each with a committee of its own, but all being under ultimate control at the headquarters of the diocese. And the Bishop continued the open advocacy of his educational views in most of his public utterances on church questions, more especially in his pastoral charges.

But unfortunately his full deliverance on a very special

occasion cannot be found. In the Register Book of Sydney diocese there is an entry that a "citation" to the clergy was issued by the senior chaplain, the Rev. W. Cowper, by direction of the Bishop, to his first episcopal triennial visitation on 5 June 1839. The Bishop, as soon as possible after his consecration, had evidently followed the English episcopal custom of making an extensive personal inspection of the parishes before assembling the clergy for the primary charge, which therefore was not delivered until the third year from 1836. The Sydney Register has also a record of the visitation having been held on the due date, twenty-two clergy being present and ten having obtained permission to be absent. The following brief report of the proceedings appears in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of Friday, 7 June 1839:

The Bishop of Australia held his Primary Triennial Visitation of the clergy of his diocese in St James's Church on Wednesday last, 5th instant. Prayers were said by the incumbent, Rev. G. N. Wood, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Wm. Stack, B.A., of West Maitland, from Acts vi, 4. The clergy, of whom there were twenty-two present, took their stations in the centre of the aisle while his lordship delivered his charge. Ten clergy apologized, making thirty-two in all.

His Lordship commenced his address by allusions to the visitorial power being used—a practice which was as old as the formation of dioceses. The intention of a visitation was that the Bishop might have opportunities of inquiring into the moral character of his clergy, and also into the state of their respective parishes—not only as regards spiritual affairs but also temporal, such as the state of their churches. He particularly recommended the clergy to cultivate the friendship of their respective churchwardens, and stated that if spared to hold another visitation he would request the churchwardens as well as the clergy to attend—in order that the different parishes might be more fully represented.

His Lordship then went into details of the formation and the dissolution of "The Church and School Corporation," an organization which, he said, had never had a fair trial. He then explained the provisions of the Church Act, 1836, which he considered was likely to have very ill effects upon the religious welfare of the community: but, still, as it was the law of the land it must be treated with respect, and, although the clergy have a right as citizens to express freely their opinions of any public measure, there must be no evasions of the Act but it must be fairly worked according to its spirit.

The Church of Rome in the colony, as well as all over the world, was making great struggles for advancement and superiority, and he particularly recommended the clergy to be on their guard and oppose her—not to act on the aggressive but on the defensive. The great distinctive doctrines of the Church of Rome were Papal supremacy, and a parity of Tradition with the Scriptures. And the main doctrines of the Church of England were the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the authority of the Church in matters of faith.

As to the Aborigines, he scarcely knew what measures (with the present means), to recommend, but the prospect was more cheering ten years ago than now.

With respect to the subject of general education, he hoped that every clergyman would exert himself to establish a school in connection with his parish, in which the rudiments of learning and the first principles of Christianity as set out in the Catechism may be taught. And these schools might be enlarged as circumstances allow. And every clergyman would be expected to have a Sunday school, and to spend a part of the day in it himself.

The Bishop concluded by exhorting the clergy to live in accordance with their doctrines.

That the first Bishop of Australia did hold a primary visitation cannot be questioned in face of this newspaper report, and the entries in the diocesan register at Sydney, but unhappily neither the original manuscript, nor a copy in print or writing can be found. This is the more remarkable because the Bishop had all his important pastoral charges, addresses, lectures, and sermons printed, and kept copies that were ultimately bound up into four octavo volumes, which are now in the possession of his descendants. Search has also been made in the principal government archives and libraries of Australia, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London. Also the late Bishop Montgomery kindly interested himself in securing an examination of Lambeth Palace Library, because Bishop Broughton, as a suffragan of the Archbishop of Canterbury, would have been expected to forward a copy of such an important document as his primary charge to the Primate in London. The foregoing explanation that it is missing seems necessary in recording Broughton's career, and the fact, apparently, must remain, at any rate for the present, a mystery.

It is not possible, therefore, to reproduce anything more than the *Sydney Morning Herald* report as to the Bishop's dealing with the education question (which presumably would have been carefully adequate), in the charge: but even that shows he steadfastly continued to adhere to his earlier pronouncements as to a religious basis being essential for all true education.

The triennial pastoral of 1841 dealt with several topics, chiefly of a doctrinal character, and so education did not receive detailed consideration, though references to it bore testimony to being based upon the Bishop's oft declared convictions.

But the charge of 1844, the most lengthy and learned of these episcopal pronouncements, again sounded a clarion on behalf of definite religious teaching founded upon revealed religion, and the Bishop also, at some length, urged that the landholders of the colony should recognize it as a solemn responsibility to God to devote some of the revenue they derived from the cultivation of the soil towards the support of religion and education.

The Government had not taken further steps after Broughton's famous speech in 1839 had effectually blocked the grants in aid to denominational schools scheme of Governor Sir George Gipps. Yet the general policy, both English and local, of "comprehensiveness" in the administration of public education had grown in popular estimation, though the Church of England, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans continued to establish their sectional schools. In 1844 the Legislative Council appointed a committee, with Mr Robert Lowe (afterwards the brilliant English Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ultimately Viscount Sherbrooke), as chairman, to review the whole position. This committee recommended the introduction of unsectarian national education, following the lines of the Irish system advocated by Governor Sir Richard Bourke in 1836. The Legislative Council adopted the committee's report, and

proceeded to take steps to appoint a Board to organize and control the scheme. But the religious bodies saw that the government proposal would seriously handicap their schools, and by their practically united opposition they succeeded in developing such an influential body of public opinion that the Legislative Council suspended further action. Nothing more was done by the State for four years,² but in 1848 the Government established two Boards, one to organize and control a national unsectarian system, and the other to supervise the denominational schools. This educational policy prevailed to the close of Bishop Broughton's episcopate, and continued in operation until the introduction of Sir Henry (then Mr) Parkes's Public Schools Act in 1866, which established a Council of Education, though the grants in aid were still given to the schools associated with the denominations, until the Public Instruction Act of 1880 finally abolished government aid to denominational schools. It is at least some justification for the principle of the Bishop's persistent claim that religion must be the basis of education that quite within recent times a Premier of New South Wales (Mr Stevens), has expressed his anxiety as to the consequences of the secular educational system prevailing in his State, and indeed throughout Australia. And at the Methodist Conference of 1933 in Sydney, there were strong appeals made for better Christian teaching in the government schools of to-day. Perhaps more significant still is the fact that at the 1933 conference in Sydney of the head masters of the Australian Public Schools, the principal of Scotch College, Melbourne, and the head master of the Melbourne Church of England Grammar, emphatically expressed their conviction of the necessity for religion in any complete system of education.

² Alexander Lobban, *The Place of Religion in the System of State Education in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1909).

CHAPTER X

JOURNEYINGS IN NEW SOUTH WALES (1840-5)

ALTHOUGH such a considerable share of the Bishop's time had to be given, at his headquarters in Sydney, to his duties as a member of the Legislative and the Executive Councils, and to the administrative work of his huge diocese, he managed to accomplish amazing tours through the wide-spread country districts of New South Wales.

It is often said that the labours of bishops and clergy to-day are more exacting and exhausting than were those of the earliest workers in the Australian Church, because of the variety and volume of the tasks devolving upon the episcopate and the rank and file of the clergy in these later times, when the motor car has so largely supplanted the horse as the means of transit. A wider knowledge of the physical toil and mental strain experienced by the pioneers in the church's work in almost every part of the overseas British Dominions may considerably modify this impression. And there is one element in arriving at an accurate judgment that probably is generally overlooked. The bishops, and a large proportion of the clergy, in the primal colonial days, came from homes where they had been surrounded by the comforts of civilization. Amongst these the Bishop of Australia must be given a prominent place. From his letters and diaries it is plain that he was rather unusually susceptible to the influence of comfortable surroundings, yet though he could not forbear from noting some of the rougher and more fatiguing incidents of his country tours he seldom, if ever, complained about them.

After his memorable opposition to Sir George Gipps's proposals for education in the public schools, and a considerable time spent in organizing his own plans for preserving as far as possible the work of the parochial schools, the Bishop arranged—in addition to his second visitation of Port Phillip in 1843—an extensive programme of visits to the country districts of New South Wales. This involved much travelling, from 1840 to 1845, from which he returned at intervals to duties that required his presence at Sydney.¹ The chief records of his journeyings are those for the years 1843 and 1845, and some extracts from these will testify to the Bishop's unwearied zeal.

Towards the close of 1840 he was able to report to the S.P.G.:

I have now before me a list of very nearly forty places where subscriptions have been raised, and either the church or the parsonage has been begun or agreed upon. In some instances the one or the other is complete. The number of additional clergy required for these stations will be from sixteen to twenty. To all of them I have either advanced or promised contributions from the Society's funds, and I can only hope that if we should appear to press heavily upon its resources the imputation of extravagance will not be attached to me, seeing that a very moderate degree of assistance rendered to claims so numerous will necessarily and very speedily exhaust even the most liberal and abundant supply.

Early in the following year the Bishop made an important communication to the S.P.G. in reference to government grants towards the support of clergy. He reports:

With reference to the correspondence between the Marquis of Normanby and the Society (of which you did me the favour to forward copies), wherein his lordship declined, in consideration of the state of the funds of the colony, to sanction the nomination of any additional number of clergymen, I am happy to inform you that I have received a copy of a despatch from Lord John Russell to Sir George Gipps, consenting to send out as many clergymen as provision has already been made for in the colonial estimates. That provision extended to twelve additional clergymen for the year 1839, and for the year 1840 I believe (for I am unable at this moment to refer to the estimate), the same, or very nearly the same, provision was made. The greater proportion of those numbers is there-

¹ *Church in the Colonies. Australia*, pts i and xiv (London, 1846).



BISHOP BROUGHTON FROM A SKETCH BY BISHOP NIXON
From an engraving in the possession of Mr William Dixon.

fore still eligible, as I am under an impression that very few have been appointed beyond the number allowed for the year 1838. I thankfully, indeed most thankfully, receive this concession on the part of Her Majesty's Government, as it enables me to look forward with expectation of providing for the many places now miserably destitute.

But the good Bishop's gratitude is soon swallowed up in depressing anxiety when he is in the midst of the wide areas for which little or no spiritual provision had yet been possible. He writes to the S.P.G. of

the deplorable state of the people along the course of the River Hawkesbury as regards religion and education. . . . My difficulties, indeed, with regard to that entire district have been incessant, and are not yet at an end. The refusal of the Governor, Sir George Gipps, to recognize (in connection with Government grants to meet local subscriptions) as private contributions for the erection of schools either the sums granted by the societies of England, or provided by our own diocesan committee, by diminishing the pecuniary resources on which I had calculated, has fatally retarded the measures which during my visit in 1839 I felt were necessary for the preservation of even the name and form of Christianity in many parts of this district.

And the Bishop proceeds to make a clever indictment of the official policy. He claims:

It is not my disposition, I trust the Society will be assured, to animadvert unbecomingly or unnecessarily on the conduct of the ruling powers, but I must interrupt the course of my statement to express my inability to comprehend how the Government of England or the Government of this colony, having suffered such a state of things to grow up through their fifty years' neglect to provide any means whatever of religious instruction for these poor people, can now reconcile it with any Christian principle to cast impediments and discouragements in the way of those who desire only to combine for the removal of such inveterate evils, rather than assist with its own influence and resources, an attempt which even human policy, putting Christian duty and charity out of the question, might recommend as founded upon most certain grounds of temporal expediency.

It is satisfactory to record that the unsympathetic attitude to the question of the government authorities was largely modified by subsequent concessions, and that in the meanwhile the S.P.G. came to the rescue, its annual report for 1841 making the announcement in its reference to the Diocese

of Australia of a fact that must have gladdened Broughton's heart by relieving part of his incessant burden of anxiety: "To provide for the more pressing wants of the Church in this diocese, and to meet the difficulties arising from the suspension of grants from the Colonial Treasury, the Society have placed a further sum of £1000 at the disposal of the Bishop, to be expended in the promotion of his general designs in Australia. The amount of good already effected under the direction of this indefatigable prelate may be ascertained by a perusal of his letter to the secretaries of his diocesan committee."

The middle of 1843 found the Bishop carrying on his visitation of the Hunter River and Bathurst districts and the contiguous areas, of which he wrote: "During my present progress I have been in one county—Durham—in the whole extent of which there is not a church, and but one clergyman. In the adjoining county of Brisbane there is one church and one clergyman. After that I shall pass through three entire counties in which there is neither minister nor any ordinance of religion. And the five counties included in this numeration contain a fourth part of the area of New South Wales, and from a sixteenth to an eighteenth of the whole population."

It would be expected that in wandering over such wide expanses of bush country, incidents, which if undramatic were decidedly unpleasant, would be encountered, and Broughton's letters, diaries, and reports show that he had a fair share of such experiences. On one occasion he arrived at a primitive sheep station where heavy rain was falling and prevented the gathering of a congregation. The Bishop's diary notes: "The rain continued during the night and poured through the bark roof, raising apprehensions of its coming upon the bed—which our entertainers had very kindly given up for our use, but fortunately we escaped." Less than a fortnight later, the diary entry is: "Left Mr Denison's at 10 a.m. In consequence of this late departure,

compelled to remain all night at a place called 'Tongey,' a sheep station belonging to Mr Fitzgerald, of Windsor. As there were many people about the place, assembled them for evg. service and sermon. The poor people were very civil and kind, giving us the best they had of everything. Lay down for a few hours in my clothes."

Quite a graphic picture of the unexpected happenings in bush travelling is conveyed in a letter to Mrs Broughton:

I hope you have not been expecting to hear from me sooner, or are uneasy at not having heard, as it has not been in my power to be near a post office on a post day. But though my journey has been very tedious and fatiguing I have been quite safe and well. On the day I left you, Mr Marsden drove me to his house at South Creek, and my carriage went on to the inn at the ford, where we slept when you and the children were with me. The next morning Mr Marsden took me as far as "The Pilgrim," where we breakfasted, you will recollect, and here I overtook the carriage. As there seemed to be a doubt whether our young horse would stand the journey, I exchanged it with Mr Marsden for one which looked so large and strong that he might draw the carriage by himself. But there is no trusting to appearances; for no sooner did we reach a sandy part of the road than the great gentleman chose to stop; and so at every hill or piece of sand we came to. In fact at last he grew so dull that we could make no progress, except by applying to a driver on the road to lend me his two bullocks to pull us up the hill; and afterwards to a carter who hooked on his front horse, and by great whipping and urging we at last reached the weatherboard hut which you will no doubt remember.

It is in point of comfort and cleanliness very much what it was three years ago; but the night being rather cold, the inmates of the beds were not so active as we found them (!). Next day the horses came again to a comfortable stand-still after about four miles: and we were obliged to wait on the road until we sent forward and procured another horse; and so in about twelve hours, and after much exertion, we completed a journey of seven miles.

Next day with a borrowed horse we went twenty-two miles, and on Friday, the officer commanding at the stockade lent me two bullocks which dragged us slowly over the hills: and then with the borrowed horse we went on to within eleven miles of Bathurst, and were there compelled to stop for the night. This was very provoking, as I knew the gentlemen of the parish were out waiting to receive me, and it was raining fast. But nothing was to be done except to await patiently until yesterday morning when by setting out at seven I was able to reach Mr Kearn's at breakfast time. At eleven o'clock we went to the church, which I con-

separated, with the churchyard: and as the news of my arrival quickly spread there was a very good congregation who were, I understand, much pleased and impressed with the ceremony—which none of them had ever before witnessed.

From Bathurst the Bishop started on his return to Sydney, by a route which enabled him to visit several centres not in the track of his outward journey. In all, the tour covered 1100 miles, and for most of it he travelled alone, excepting when kindly volunteers went with him over the roughest stretches of country. The element of personal peril, too, from bushrangers was not altogether absent, and on one occasion when a couple of these lawless men had been in the locality, the residents insisted upon the Bishop being accompanied by a mounted constable until it was considered that the danger zone had been passed.

The 1845 visitation² covered much of the central area of New South Wales. The country was suffering severely from drought that lasted over two years, and which affected disastrously the Church's work, as well as the material interests of the colony. But Edward Coleridge, on his own initiative, made a spirited appeal in England which yielded approximately £4000 and supplied Broughton with the means for meeting many of the financial liabilities as they matured, besides helping to carry on current expenditure. By the middle of January he was well launched on his country visitorial engagements, the 15th finding him at Camden, the headquarters of the Macarthur estate, which already possessed what the Bishop described in his diary as "a large, substantial, and really handsome church, built in a correct style of Decorated architecture with a lofty tower and spire, and even in its unfinished state forming a most striking feature in the landscape." The founder of the estate, Mr John Macarthur, had died, and will always be remembered as a pioneer in the establishing in Australia of the wool industry that has since made the continent

² *Church in the Colonies. Australia, part iii.*

famous. Mrs Macarthur, however, still lived, in a vigorous old age, after fifty years' residence in the colony as mistress of Camden.

A few days later, on the confines of the now popular tourist resort, Blackheath, in the Blue Mountains, one of the few remaining stockades still in use was visited, there being some seventy convicts employed in making the road over the mountain range. The Bishop conducted a service at the stockade and preached to the prisoners on the morning after he reached Blackheath. When it is remembered that transportation had only ceased, after being in operation for half a century, six years before, the rapidity with which the signs of the penal occupation of the colony had disappeared is noted by Broughton as quite remarkable. It may here be said that while the Bishop had always shown a compassionate interest in the prisoner element in the population of New South Wales, yet he had ever been a vigorous advocate of the abolition of transportation as soon as it came within the possibilities of practical politics. As chairman of the committee of the Legislative Council on Immigration, he had been brought into close contact with the subject, and the voluminous printed report, covering fifty quarto pages, discloses by its dignified diction the leading part Broughton took in its production.

The next historic spot at which the Bishop arrived was "Duntroon," the country residence of Mr Robert Campbell, the head of a notable Australian family of earnest and munificent churchfolk.³ George Campbell, a younger son of the last Laird of Ashfield in Argyleshire, came from Calcutta to Sydney in 1798, and is often spoken of as "Sydney's first merchant." In a time of shortage, the New South Wales Government commandeered one of Campbell's vessels to bring food from Calcutta, but the ship became a total wreck on the voyage, and the local Govern-

³ F. W. Robinson, M.A., Ph.D., *Canberra's First Hundred Years* (Sydney, 1924).

ment gave Mr Campbell 5000 acres of land on Limestone Plains, a rich district of virgin soil, as part compensation, and Mr Campbell named the head station "Duntroon," after Duntroon Castle on Loch Crinan, the ancestral home of the family.

The first Australian Military College grew up on this site, and received the historic name, "Duntroon," which therefore will always have a place in Australian history. When the college was transferred to Sydney a few years ago, "Duntroon" developed into what has been described as "the most English looking suburb of Canberra." And overlooking the village from an adjacent hillside is the grave of General Bridges (the first commandant of "Duntroon"), who fell while commanding the Australian Division after the Gallipoli landing.

From the widespreading acres of the estate the native appellation was retained, variously written as "Canbury," or "Canberry," or "Canberra," the last-named being officially fixed upon in connexion with the establishing of the Federal Capital of Australia, and its pronunciation settled at two, not three, syllables. The aboriginal signification of the name is said to have meant "plenty grass," indicating good feeding-grounds for the native game, and so a favoured spot for finding native food.

Together with his handsome country home, Mr Robert Campbell built in the township that had grown up on "Canberry Plains" a church, at his own cost save for the Government grant in aid, of which Broughton wrote in his diary after inspecting it shortly before its consecration: "a handsome and massive stone church, fitted up internally with all things orderly and becoming, and which is prepared for consecration on my return." The Bishop records that on Saturday, 8 March 1845, he consecrated Christ Church, Queanbeyan, and on the following Monday St John Baptist's, "Canberry Plains," the text of the consecration sermon being Haggai i, 13-14. Dr Robinson, in his monograph on

"Canberra," emphasizes that the church and its school bulk largely in the early history of the little township that has now grown into the capital of Australia, and adds that this is "quite appropriate, as there never has been an Australian town so strictly associated with the Church, as the district formerly known as Limestone Plains." And Sir Littleton Groom, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives, in the Australian Commonwealth, in his foreword to Dr Robinson's book writes: "The pioneers were not forgetful of the part that religion must play in the development of the highest type of Australian citizenship."

The Bishop gave Easter Day to Camden, and in the week following got back to Sydney, where several important engagements awaited him, including the consecration of the churches of St John Baptist, Ashfield, and St Stephen's, Camperdown (now Newtown), long ago grown into populous centres extending to Sydney. He devotes much space to the consecration on 10 September of Christ Church, in the parish of St Lawrence, Sydney. Twenty-six clergy attended, and the Bishop makes very cordial reference to the dignified character of the building and its appointments. He speaks warmly of the devotion of the rector, Rev. W. H. Walsh, and his patient pursuance of the building of the church despite many and prolonged hindrances, chiefly financial. In the consecration sermon the Bishop said: "I do indeed exult in the belief that so far as any work has ever been begun and continued under a pure disposition to do all to the glory of God, under an unselfish spirit of anxiety that whatever was done might in some degree be fitted to promote His honour, and to testify that the affections and anxieties of the people of this land were not wholly devoted to worldly things, this holy edifice in which we have now for the first time celebrated His praise, may be appealed to as an evidence of that spirit." The Bishop adds: "I have heard objections stated to some of the arrangements in the celebration of divine service as savouring of

novelty and innovation; but I am bound to say that there is no contrariety in any part of the practices to the most approved usages of the Church of England with which I have been familiar from my earliest years; and everything is marked by such a degree of order and solemnity that I could wish the observances of this church to be taken, if it were possible, as a model for imitation by every church in my diocese." It is indeed meet that in Christ Church, Sydney, which gave such happiness to Broughton on the occasion of its consecration, there is now a replica of his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.

The Bishop was soon afield once more after he had fulfilled his Sydney appointments, and by October was at Armidale, where his experiences are worth recording when it is remembered that it is now quite a large city, the centre of the New England district of New South Wales, the seat of a bishopric, and widely considered as a fitting capital if and when the subdivisions of the mother colony take place. Broughton had been travelling alone a good deal since leaving Sydney, but the Commissioner of the New England District met him and took him as his guest in Armidale. He notes that

the land around is fertile and well watered, and the country, though wholly in a state of nature, has nothing rude or desolate in its appearance. The settlement consists of twelve or fourteen scattered cottages, principally composed of timber and roofs of bark. Among them is a reasonably convenient inn, more substantially built; and a large store is in course of erection; and there is also a court house. . . . To the judgment which should form its calculations upon the ground of what was immediately and visibly before it, very few encouraging expectations would present themselves. To find myself thus absolutely alone in the wilderness, with no other errand or design but that of attempting to fulfil God's injunction to His Church, "Feed thou thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine heritage which dwell solitarily in the wood," was enough to overwhelm me, it might be imagined, with dejection and trembling. But I know not how it came to pass, my mind felt elastic and confiding in viewing the prospect before me; conscious that I was doing the best in my power, however trifling that might be, for the welfare of these people; and entertaining the firmest assurance

that God would not suffer any work to fall to the ground which was undertaken and to be continued in Him. My determination was taken to persevere.

The Bishop gave two Sundays and the intervening week to the New England district, and on the second Sunday at a service in the Armidale court house a congregation of seventy-five assembled, and the Bishop celebrated a marriage just before it; after the second lesson baptized several infants, "the mothers duly returning thanks after childbirth"; and before the sermon confirmed five candidates. He records: "The service therefore was long, but none present appeared to relax in their attention. To any seriously thinking person the occasion must have been gratifying. I acknowledge it was supremely so to me."

The Bishop was able to arrange for steps towards the building in Armidale of a church, for which he (as he often did) prepared a sketch plan, and decided should be dedicated to St Peter, which is the dedication of the present Armidale Cathedral, and in the Lent following his visitation of the district a recently ordained deacon, Mr John Tingcomb, was placed at Armidale.

During his November journeyings the Bishop was able to stop at the station of Mr William Boydell (his son-in-law), on the Albyn River, taking part in the completion of a small church (which he had designed), and duly consecrated at St Mary's-on-Albyn, with its adjacent burial ground. The Bishop notes in his diary: "I have seldom experienced more satisfaction than in providing this little sanctuary in which my descendants might practise that form of worship, in reverence, for which they have been brought up." By the middle of December the devoted Bishop returned to his home. The diary closes with a summary which notes that during 1845 the building of eighteen churches had been begun, and twelve had been consecrated. Its conclusion is such a revelation of humbleness of mind combined with calm courage that it may well be quoted in closing a synopsis

of labours that show that the spirit of heroism definitely formed part of Broughton's character. But it is equally certain that he would have been shocked rather than anything else at the suggestion. This is the end of the 1845 diary:

The very nature of the occupations, the course of which, extending over so many months, is here recorded, has rendered unavoidable a more constant personal allusion than is agreeable to my disposition. It is therefore not without reluctance that I again make mention of myself. But it would be an act of ingratitude were I to close this account without acknowledging the watchful care of that Providence which has protected me during the course of these travels, extending in one year over more than 3000 miles. It may be recorded as a proof of such care, that throughout this entire distance I experienced no alarm or danger, nor so much as the apprehension of any: neither have I suffered, for a single instant, pain or sickness. These are benefits which surely demand a return of gratitude and acknowledgment; and may justify me in adopting the Psalmist's language, "In the shadow of Thy wings will I rejoice."

One other circumstance ought for the credit of the country to be recorded. Although continually travelling through the most lonely and unfrequented parts of it by day, and sleeping by night in the remotest stations, exposed to every outrage had there been the slightest disposition to commit acts of violence, being also perfectly unprotected, except on two or three occasions for a very short time by the attendance of a single mounted policeman, I never met with the slightest molestation, threat, or rudeness; but experienced in all places, and on the part of all persons, and from the highest to the lowest, the most perfect attention, courtesy, kindness, hospitality, and respect. It is right that this should be mentioned in order to correct any impression that may prevail as to the general character of the people of this colony, my sincere persuasion being that there can be no country in which an unprotected solitary traveller could have spent so much time, and passed over such an extended space, with a more perfect freedom from annoyance or injury. Some weight is due to this testimony, resting upon the experience of the sixteen years which I have now completed here in journeyings often in the care of all the churches: but, thanks be to God, without perils of any kind.

CHAPTER XI

TRAINING AND SUPPLY OF CLERGY

It has already been recorded in an earlier chapter that after Broughton, as archdeacon, had made his first visits to the more settled districts, he declared his conviction that the two outstanding needs of the Church in Australia were an increase of clergy, and a system of public education based upon religion. It was because he could neither persuade the Home Government nor the local authorities to support his appeal for practical action in furtherance of his proposals that he went to England in 1834. As we have seen, he met with little official sympathy. Undeterred, however, by this discouragement, on returning to Sydney after his consecration, he used the occasion of his report¹ to the Secretary for the Colonies, of his cordial reception as Bishop by the colonists, for resuming his insistence upon the importance of his clerical staff being increased.

"On my arrival here," he wrote, on 18 June 1836, "I received immediate applications for the services of additional clergymen in all those districts wherein, during my residence in England, I had the honour to represent the necessity of their being stationed. The disappointment of the people arising from my present inability to supply their wants has not prevented them from testifying their strong regard for the Church by the presentation of various addresses expressive of their anxious desire that its ordinances should be extended and its establishment in the colony strengthened."

¹ Return of Correspondence, etc. on Religion and Education in Australia presented to House of Commons, on motion of Mr Gladstone, 11 March 1837 (pp. 4-78).

But he failed to meet with any immediate practical response, and so he turned to the S.P.G., from whence action came without delay. The Society issued the following circular letter, dated 8 May 1837, in which it included the Bishop's statement of his case, and announced what it proposed at once to do:

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has received a pressing application from the Bishop of Australia to assist in engaging and sending out clergymen to N.S.W. The wants and peculiar circumstances of the Colony are thus described by His Lordship in a letter dated Sydney, 14th October, 1836:—"The question upon which I have most urgent occasion to write to you is that of providing us with additional clergymen. Our obtaining, or not obtaining, them is a matter—as it were—of life and death. The Government requires from the inhabitants a contribution of at least £300 towards the erection of a church, and will then appoint a clergyman with a stipend (not exceeding £200 per annum) proportionate to the number of the congregation. The above condition has been, or is being, complied with in twenty-one places, and there is an opportunity for settling nine additional clergymen—with average incomes of £150 per annum, a house, some land, and—in most cases—some small advantages from fees, etc. I cannot but hope that among the numbers of highly qualified young men who are every year coming from the Universities, not knowing how or where to obtain a title for Orders and almost hopeless of obtaining a maintenance in the Church at Home, there must be some to whom even the modicum here presented would not be despicable; some to whom even the enterprise itself may not be unacceptable; some who by settling down here early in life and prudently availing themselves of the resources which the country affords, might enjoy competency in the married state which they could not at home, and might find easy and favourable opportunities for educating their children, and establishing them in the world. I make it an object of earnest entreaty that you will, if you can, let these particulars be known at Oxford and Cambridge, and at Durham. I am oppressed almost beyond endurance by the variety of the duties, and extent of difficulties, with which I have—almost single-handed—to contend. But I do not despair, knowing that we have the best of causes, and trusting that God will not forsake it, but 'will send forth labourers into His harvest,' where they are so much needed." In consequence of this representation, the Society has resolved to invite application from clergymen, and candidates for Orders, desirous of proceeding to N.S.W., and to make some addition to the stipend mentioned by the Bishop of Australia. The average salary secured to each clergyman by the local legislature being £150 a year, together with a grant of £150 from the Colonial Office for passage money and outfit, a further

salary of £50 a year, together with a like grant of £150 to defray the cost of settling in a new country, will be paid by the Society. It has been assured that these allowances will enable clergymen to maintain themselves and their families in respectability and comfort. And it trusts that persons will be found who are ready to discharge the duties of the Christian ministry in a land where the very existence of religion appears to depend upon the measures which may be adopted at the present crisis.

But the most inapplicable charge that could rightly be brought against Broughton would be that he was an opportunist. On the contrary, the fact looms large, as his episcopal career is considered, that on all the main lines of his administration he ever thought of the future even more than the then present work of the Church in Australia. Hence, in connexion with the matter of the supply of clergy he soon saw that it would be impossible, if not also undesirable, to look for a continuance in days to come of the liberal help that was given him by the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., and private English benefactors, both in men and money. So he is found a year or two after his appeals to the Home Government and the S.P.G. making a further suggestion, that the theological dons of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham, together with the heads of the leading British grammar schools, should be urged to seek in their work for religiously minded young men before whom might be placed detailed information as to the Australian Church, in the hope that some of them might be led to offer for service in her ministry. He wrote urgently to Coleridge, Watson, and others asking for the consideration of this scheme, but apparently it never led to any substantial consequences. When Bishop Selwyn first visited Sydney in 1842, *en route* to New Zealand, after his consecration in the preceding year, he spent some days with Bishop Broughton, who wrote a long letter to Coleridge detailing some of the important subjects which the two Bishops discussed, and of these it is said of the supply of clergy: "It is this question which above all others has come home to the hearts of both of us. . . . The conclusion at which we arrived was in favour of erecting, under

the immediate eye of each, a school of divinity in which promising young men, from 18 to 23, might be trained in the knowledge of the duties of their profession, as well as initiated into the practical discharge of them. The Bishop of New Zealand has already certain funds and resources applicable to that object."

Although this plan, by contemplating local candidates, introduced a new element into the consideration of ordinands. Bishop Broughton still hoped that his original idea would not be overlooked of getting some of the scholars who had completed their course at the English grammar schools to offer to take the course at the Sydney theological college and then be ordained; but, as before, this plan appears to have failed to commend itself in England. It is much to be regretted that this was so, for the idea seems full of possibilities, both ecclesiastical and national. Is it too late for some Australian bishop once more to approach the authorities in higher education in the Homeland in the matter?

So in due course the nucleus of a divinity school was instituted at Sydney in the parsonage then at the corner of King and Macquarie streets and occupied by the Rev. C. Kemp, curate of St James's. Canon Allwood, incumbent of the parish, was principal of the school, and had the help of some of the Sydney clergy in the tuition, in which the Bishop also took part. Eight students were enrolled, and one of these, bearing the honoured name of Hassall, has published² some details of the inner working of the institution, which about two years after it had been started was moved to quite a fine house, with extensive grounds—"Lyndhurst," on the Glebe suburb, as it then was, overlooking Johnson's Bay.

Mr Hassall writes:

We had a very happy and enjoyable time there, though we worked hard, too, at old Pearson, Paley, and Burnett, the Greek Testament

² *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. iii, p. 238.

and other studies. Once a week we each took a sermon of our own composition to Bishop Broughton at Darlinghurst. He would look them over by the following week, make his comments on them then, and give us two hours' profitable instruction on various subjects. A good dinner followed, in the pleasant company of Mrs Broughton and her two daughters. Afterwards the Bishop sent us home in his carriage. Though so many years have passed, and I have met so many estimable people, I still have the idea that Bishop Broughton, Canon Allwood, and the Rev. Robert Forrest (first headmaster of The King's School, Parramatta) were the best men I have ever known.

This is an appropriate place for inserting, as at least of historic interest, the Bishop's syllabus for the examination of ordination candidates, which appears among the earliest records in Sydney Diocesan Registry.³

Order appointed by the Lord Bishop for the examination of candidates for Holy Orders in the Diocese of Australia—

1. To compose a sermon upon a given text, without assistance except from a Bible and concordance in the case of deacons, and of a Bible only in the case of priests.
2. An examination, exegetical and critical, of portions of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles in the original in the case of deacons, with the addition of the Epistles in the case of priests.
3. A paper of miscellaneous questions, to which answers in writing will be required concerning the evidence of the Christian religion and its advantages and necessity.
4. A similar paper concerning the grounds of the Protestant Faith.
5. A similar paper of questions relating to the doctrines contained in the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Church of England, with proofs of their Scriptural foundation.
6. A similar paper concerning ministerial duty and authority.
7. Miscellaneous questions upon Church history especially during the first three centuries of the Christian era; and upon Biblical criticism.
8. Miscellaneous questions concerning the nature of objections most commonly urged by unbelievers against the Divine authority of the Scriptures and the sufficiency of Revelation; with satisfactory solutions.

The examinations will be continued during five days and the average duration will be four hours each day.

No textbooks are prescribed, so apparently the examinations were based upon the lectures given to the students.

³ *Acts and Proceedings of the Bishop of Australia*, No. 1. (Diocesan Registry, Sydney).

With the removal to "Lyndhurst," the scope of the divinity school was enlarged by the admission of pupils other than those reading for ordination. The modest school was advanced by the Bishop, at a function at which the Governor was present, to the more imposing name of "St James's College," becoming practically a grammar school, and public subscriptions were asked for its support.⁴

The proposal in Australasia, adopted after consultation by Bishops Broughton and Selwyn (but probably specially urged by the latter, who had some funds available for the purpose) for diocesan theological colleges seems to have turned Edward Coleridge's mind back to Broughton's first idea of a central institution in England to help all the missionary dioceses. He wrote in 1843 to Broughton: "I determined on issuing proposals for the foundation of one great Missionary College, at Oxford or elsewhere, for all the Colonies. . . . In a few days came a most hearty letter from the Archbishop . . . with the one exception of a doubt as to Oxford as a site. I aim at £50,000, as a beginning, to be raised in two years. Meanwhile I beg you to remember me in your daily prayers."

Then came the veritable spiritual romance of the founding of St Augustine's College, Canterbury.⁵ The story is well known. That noble layman, Robert Brett, of Stoke Newington, when paying a visit to Canterbury in September 1843, went over the desolate area of the one-time famous monastery, and, as he wrote in a letter to the English *Churchman*, was "disgusted and horrified at the scene of sordid, revolting profanity and desecration which presented itself." An aged townsman with whom Mr Brett got into conversation told him: "The Canterbury place is going to be sold; it's always changing, for God Almighty don't seem to prosper anybody who has it." Another notable layman, Mr Beresford Hope, next came into the story. After having seen

⁴ *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. iii, p. 238.

⁵ Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D., *St Augustine's, Canterbury* (London, 1888).

the letter in the *English Churchman*, he went to pay a promised visit to Canterbury. While there he saw the ruins of the Abbey and heard of its then soon being offered for sale. Upon returning to London he arranged to purchase the property, but special statutory power had to be obtained before the Government could complete the contract. Edward Coleridge had learnt of the transaction, and with characteristic enthusiasm conceived the purpose of trying to secure the fulfilment of Bishop Broughton's great idea of a central theological college in England for training clergy for the colonial dioceses. He had previously been working steadily to advance the Bishop's project by collecting large funds for what obviously would be a big undertaking. When he came to know of Mr Beresford Hope's romantic purchase he quickly wrote to ask the purchaser whether the property, to quote from a speech at a great function after St Augustine's College had been established, "was for him." Ultimately, he not only achieved his object, but steps were soon taken for providing funds for rebuilding, upon the plans of Mr Butterfield, the ancient monastery of St Peter, St Paul and St Augustine and devoting it, as Mr Beresford aptly pointed out, "to the same missionary objects for which it was founded." And so on St Peter's Day, 1848, with reverent pomp and in the presence of a brilliant assemblage of bishops, clergy, and laity, the restored abbey was consecrated, and St Augustine's College, Canterbury, entered upon its great career as a training school for the ministry in missionary dioceses.

It can well be understood how deeply moved Bishop Broughton was by all these happenings. When Coleridge notified him of the inauguration of the great scheme the Bishop replied: "I had no sleep last night thinking of the news, and you will find some reason for thinking that I dream of it by day. Indeed, I hope it makes me thankful as well as thoughtful."

The London *Guardian* of 30 September 1850, reports that

the first student of St Augustine's to be certified as having passed the three years' course at the college was Mr Charles John Gillett. He had been given a letter of commendation to Bishop Broughton of Sydney. At a service in the college chapel on 31 August the warden read the letter, and in his sermon referred to the significance of the occasion.

In connexion with higher education, theological and other, it seems desirable to make some reference to the attitude which Broughton took, as the official head of the Church of England, towards the University of Sydney, established in 1852. In the preliminary public discussions upon the subject it was well understood that the Bishop adhered to the principle which he had always regarded as essential, that all true education must be associated with a clear recognition of revealed religion as its foundation; and this for him meant the acceptance of historic Christianity. When the parliamentary select committee reported to the Legislative Council, it outlined a purely secular constitution and provided that the visitor, the governing body, and all the professors should be laymen, and that the University should seek for power to grant degrees in all subjects "excepting theology or divinity." Subsequently it was decided that four members of the Senate might be representative ministers of religion. The Governor invited Bishop Broughton to be one of these, the others being the Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Presbyterian Moderator, and the chairman of the Wesleyan Methodists. But in loyalty to his well-known views upon education, the Bishop felt bound to refuse the invitation.

Soon after Broughton's death, under the leadership of Bishop Tyrrell, of Newcastle, the system of denominational colleges affiliated with the University was introduced at Sydney, and has extended to Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Tasmania, and Queensland. In later years efforts were made to get the Australian universities to establish faculties which should conduct examinations for degrees in theology but

without giving tuition. The subject was brought before the Anglican General Synod, which decided that the proposal was impracticable. At a later synod a resolution was passed appointing a committee to consider the subject and consult the other churches. The attitude of the universities has become more sympathetic. At both Sydney and Tasmania the Senates have supported the suggestion, and the former has quite recently asked the premier of the State to act upon a resolution affirmed by the heads of various theological colleges urging that the local parliament should agree to the introduction of faculties to govern the granting, upon examination only, of degrees in theology by the university. The premier promised to arrange for the matter to be brought before a representative committee of the several Churches.

While dealing with movements for the supply and training of clergy, mention should be made of the successful efforts of Edward Coleridge to provide a theological library for Sydney, so that the clergy might have opportunities for post-ordination study and material for fitting them to fulfil the teaching office of the ministry. He personally invited the universities and the leading publishers to make gifts of books, and met with much encouragement. He writes to the Bishop: "Glorious results in Oxford. . . . Am now proceeding to attack London and Cambridge." He sent off six large cases containing 500 volumes to be delivered free of expense at Sydney. Later on, he reported a large consignment of "The Anglo-Catholic Library" publications, and adds: "They are given nominally by the publication committee but really by that man of men, Dr Pusey. A box is also getting ready for you, New Zealand, and Tasmania, at Rivington's. He has given seventy volumes to each of the three colonies. I really cannot tell how many chests have been sent, or how many volumes."

In a many-paged letter the Bishop warmly thanks his friend for this new contribution towards the well-being of

the Australian Church, and then opens out into larger questions.

. . . Among the efforts which you have made I can account none more well timed or more important to the improvement of the present and future generations here than the supply of books for which we are indebted chiefly to your energy and prevailing influence. On my return from the visitation at Hunter's River at the end of February, having been there engaged during two months, in laborious journeys by land and in dirty steamers by sea, I found the last chest (as I presume) waiting my arrival. It contained the books from Oxford; most truly valuable and important. . . . I am having a catalogue prepared, which when printed, I shall have great pleasure in forwarding to you. Compared with even a good private library, our collection sinks into insignificance. Yet I cannot help reflecting with some pride that previously we had nothing like it or approaching to it here. We are in danger of being a *colonia indocta*, but any man who shall make himself master of the contents even of the books we can now produce, will not be contemptible either as a scholar or a divine. I think Origen is the only one of the great Fathers that we have not. The only person beside yourself to whom I have written to express thanks is Dr Pusey. I felt an invincible disposition to do so; and, having this plea for introducing myself, I availed myself of it to go on to bespeak his attention to the probable condition of the reformed Church not in this colony only but throughout this entire hemisphere.

This continent of New Holland must become, and speedily too, the seat of great empires; and around it lie the multitude of the isles like satellites attendant. Politically and religiously they will derive their condition and principles from us. Now look at the probability of what is to ensue, according to the arrangements and provisions hitherto made. Episcopacy here rests upon my single person. The sphere was too vast *ab initio* for any one man to occupy: and is yet further extended by the addition of New Zealand. I am now within a few days of the age of fifty-two, so that even if my life be spared, I cannot reasonably calculate on being equal for more than eight or ten years longer to the wearing mode of life in which I am now involved. With me I am almost persuaded would end the whole concern of this Government in the maintenance of a bishop, and what is then to ensue? I have put these considerations before Dr Pusey, as I offer them to you, not imagining, as I tell him, that any individual can at once arrest the evils which I foresee and dread; but if the question be presented in a proper light to men of reflecting minds, some resource may present itself to them before it is all too late.

. . . My maxim is by all means to strengthen the Church of England in this quarter: and this cannot be effectually done except by enabling her to expand, wherever she goes, her proper system of polity: her orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. As to the

latter two, I presume we need not despair of finding means for their support, though upon a humble scale, and the question as to the bishops must be met boldly in the best way that circumstances will admit. I can from experience say that the occupation is not a gainful one, according to the present system. But if it be found really impossible to obtain the means of providing for them incomes to maintain them as heretofore in the foremost rank of society, we must be content, as colonial bishops, to take a lower room in civil life and be satisfied with maintenance in a decent mediocrity of circumstances. But be this as it may, I am convinced that bishops we must have in increased numbers ere long; or the fabric of the Church cannot for a continuance be held together. I hope that you and Dr Pusey and others of a right way of thinking may be able to talk over this subject occasionally: and although I see no immediate prospect of anything being done, it will be a great consolation to think that the subject is fairly within the knowledge and under the consideration of the right persons. . . .

CHAPTER XII

THE CARE OF ALL THE CHURCHES

IF the long journeyings throughout New South Wales must have made a severe strain upon the good Bishop's physical vigour, probably the mental and spiritual strain imposed by the oversight of his huge diocese was at least an equally heavy burden, especially to a man of Broughton's temperament. No one can follow the incidents of his life without being impressed by the witness they bear to the immense sense of responsibility which was ever with him. It does not appear that he had any hobby or was much attracted by the social side of life. Without doubt he would have lightened his load if he had recognized the positive value of these lighter sides of human existence, nor need his work have been done less effectively. Yet it is most impressive to think of this devout, cultivated English gentleman, who had by his scholarship made his mark as a curate, becoming so immersed in the problems of laying the foundation of the Church of England under the Southern Cross that he absolutely found no time for anything beyond his one great task and duties associated with it. But it is delightful to know that Broughton got a full meed of happiness out of his home life with his wife and their two daughters. Despite a continuously heavy correspondence he made time on his many travels to write charmingly affectionate letters to Mrs Broughton. In one of these he reminds her of their first meeting when he went up, a boy of nine years, to the King's School, Canterbury, was entered at the house of

the second master, the Rev. John Francis, and first saw one of his daughters, Sarah Francis, a juvenile in a pinafore, who twenty years later became his wife. The couple had an ideal married life of twenty years and Broughton's letters disclose them as sweethearts to the end.¹ He was profoundly touched by the cheerful courage and devotion shown by Mrs Broughton when they were together in England in 1835 and it was finally decided that her husband ought to become the first Bishop of Australia.

So the Bishop as he journeyed over the vast areas of Australia must have been comforted by thoughts of the affectionate welcome that was always awaiting him at his home in Sydney, though such reflections must often have made the sense of solitude more acute. And the correspondence with his friends in England reveals that the strain of the lonely bush travelling was increased by the opportunities which it supplied for anxious thought upon the apparent hopelessness of one bishop fulfilling with anything approaching effectiveness his episcopal office over all Australia, and also for a time, New Zealand. This to a deeply spiritual nature like Broughton's cannot but have added to his weight of cares to an extent difficult to be realized by those of later generations. But though it was impossible for Broughton to give personal supervision to much of his huge diocese he yet kept in touch by reports and correspondence with the several settlements, and so entered into their difficulties and sent them his always wise counsel. Yet the wide distances and only occasional facilities even for postal communication gave opportunities for the growth of local irregularities in church administration that caused the Bishop a good deal of trouble.

A very serious position arose at headquarters in Sydney which may be referred to now, because it also directly affected the whole diocese. The Bishop's unquestionably

¹ See *ante* Chapter VI.

autocratic administration,² it will have been seen, made him distinctly unpopular with the civil authorities of the colony, and was openly challenged as being designed to make the episcopal head of the Church the governing factor in all matters in which her essential policy was concerned. His statesmanlike mind foresaw that finally the local government authorities, in their desire to make *pro rata* its contributions to the different denominations must, under a democratic constitution, dethrone the Anglican Church from the pre-eminent position originally assigned to it. And so in his correspondence with his English counsellors he faced the prospect of a system mainly of voluntary financial support of the Church by her people. The Bishop, as usual, consulted his trusted adviser, Mr Joshua Watson, and an extract from one of his letters may be given to show his own attitude, and also again to record his unfailing gratitude to the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. for their continuous backing of his work that can never be overlooked in any review of the noble service rendered by the mother Church of England as the Empire developed, but which practically receives scant recognition from her daughter Churches to-day.

Broughton pleads with his ever sympathetic friend:

... Do not let us fade from your recollection, I intreat you, for indeed we have a difficult part assigned to us, and though we appear now at the bottom of the roll, yet I am persuaded we are laying the groundwork for a building of God which hereafter will attract no limited portion of attention; and our successors will form the advance guard, in this quarter, against a very furious assault from Papal and anti-Christian powers. My anxiety is still, while it is day, to provide some kind of defence and shelter for them that they may not come to such a contest quite naked and defenceless, and without any ground to stand on which they can surely call their own. You have received, I trust, and if so you have read with pleasure I am sure, the statement which was issued detailing the beginning and progress of our S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. diocesan committee of the two Societies. That was a very encouraging and gratifying document to every lover of the Church of England (of whom we have many here) and we are now engaged in printing our first annual report which continues, confirms,

² See *ante* Chapters VIII and X.

and even extends, the promises of encouragement held out to us at our first incorporation. As soon as possible we shall be anxious to have the pleasure of forwarding copies to our friends at home. You may be assured that there is only one sentiment of gratitude and respect for the societies which have so befriended us, and whose merits and claims upon the goodwill of every churchman are now beginning only to be known in this distant hemisphere. I have no doubt that district committees will gradually spread into every parish in the Colony; and will form admirable and effective agents for collecting the necessary funds for keeping our churches in repair, the expense of which the Government has transferred from itself to the people. In fact, as we are even now very much under the "Voluntary System," and, unless a total change of measures shall ensue, must in a few years be wholly so, I am anxious to make my machinery as perfect as I can for introducing under another name the English parochial system. A "parson" of the parish, or a "corporation" of any kind, will not be heard of here: and therefore I have been driven to employ the best substitutes in my power to obtain the thing aimed at as nearly as may be practical without giving rise to jealousies on the part of those who could negative the whole scheme if they should suspect what my object is. To be sure our Bill has not yet passed the Council; but from all that has yet been said I am greatly in hopes it will be allowed to do so. If I should be able to send it to you in its present shape I hope you will give credit for my ingenuity in enabling my Trustees to hold property, and to have a perpetual succession, without becoming a Corporation: and in giving the clergyman a secure right of possession of the church and parsonage while the property in them is vested in others. However, I will not anticipate too much lest my budding projects should be cut off by an unexpected blast from some unfriendly quarter and never reach maturity. . . .

The Bishop's Bill, generally known as The Church of England Temporalities Act, 1837 (8 Wm. iv. c. 5), passed the Legislative Council.³ It recites an act of the preceding year introduced by the Government to govern the administration of all the religious bodies working in the colony and receiving grants in aid. It enacted, *inter alia*, that when £300 had been privately subscribed towards the building of a church and parsonage the Governor might add a like sum. The trustees of the property and two churchwardens would be elected by the "subscribers" to the church fund. The Bishop's Act vested this right of election in the whole con-

³ *Historical Records of Australia*. Series I, vol. xix, pp. 774, 776. Also Archbishop Lowther Clarke, *Constitutional Church Government in the Dominions*, pp. 80, 87.

gregation, and also added a clause providing that no clergyman should officiate without a licence from the Bishop, and should not occupy the parsonage after such licence had been, upon sufficient cause shown, withdrawn, cancelled, or revoked by the Bishop. But the opposition of those in the colony at variance with the Bishop's policy of strengthening the position of the Church of England independently of any others of the religious bodies continued, and probably was revived two years later when Edward Coleridge, in 1839, sent Broughton over £3000 of further subscriptions from England. The Bishop, overjoyed at this noble contribution to his finances, promptly outlined to the enthusiastic collector of it a scheme for using the money in buying and stocking lands, from which profits might be expected that would provide at least a foundation for an endowment fund towards the incomes of the parochial clergy, who would thereby be partly independent of the "Voluntary System" which Broughton so seriously distrusted. But Coleridge gave no encouragement to this proposal, and he succeeded in dissuading the Bishop from it.

It can scarcely be doubted that the fact of such a large amount of money being received from England, and the proposal of the Bishop for its investment, became known, at any rate in church and government circles, and would have been interpreted as an additional indication that he was continuing the endeavour to make the Church as far as possible free from the necessity for state aid. Some years later an attempt was made by his opponents to restrict the Bishop's episcopal power by conferring upon the clergy a life tenancy in church and parsonage buildings irrespective of the restrictions imposed by the Bishop's licence. Of course there were no legal incumbents or parishes in those days (though the terms are often loosely used), the Bishop being the administrative ecclesiastical authority, and from him the clergy received their licences as chaplains, which they held unless withdrawn by the Bishop upon cause shown.

Mr Robert Lowe, the Sydney barrister who afterwards rose to such fame in English politics, was the most able and persistent of the antagonists to Broughton's administration, and it was he who, in 1846, tried to limit its power by giving legal rights to the clergy over the property they used, apart from the conditions of the episcopal licence. Writing to Edward Coleridge on 3 October 1846, the Bishop says:

Our most mischievous legislator, Mr Lowe (formerly Magd. Coll. Oxford), gave notice of a Bill to confer a freehold in their benefices on clergymen of the C. of Eng. It was introduced, read a first time, and fixed for a second reading on the 22nd of last month. A few days only could be had for preparation: I scarcely knew what to determine on. But the Bill was an atrocious attempt to oust the Bishop of all control and to confer it on the lay-trustees of each church. It was generated out of hatred to the Church universally, and partly to me personally. Therefore, oppose it I was determined I would; and, as the only resource, made application to be heard against it at the bar of the Council, which was granted. That it was an unseemly position for me to be placed in I was very sensible, and should I break down—why then—*actum est*. I went therefore knowing and feeling all the risk, but God, I trust, gave me support and I spoke for nearly two hours without embarrassment, and with so much effect as totally to defeat the measure. The mover did not rally the Council at all, and there was a long interval before any one could be found to second him; and finally the Bill was "cast to the moles and to the bats"—so we are safe for the present. . . .

It will be noticed that this was the second time that Broughton had pleaded successfully before the Legislative Council in support of church principles. As has already been explained⁴ he was, as archdeacon, by royal warrant a member of the Council, but by official inadvertence the right had not been renewed when he became a bishop. But the Colonial Government's amended public education proposals were not submitted to the Council until 1839—after the admission had been rectified—and so he then spoke from his seat as a councillor. But some years before he asked to be heard "at the bar of the House" in opposition to Lowe's bill, he had resigned from the Council.

⁴ See Chapter X.

A case of discipline of a more definitely spiritual character, and directly infringing episcopal prerogative, had arisen in Tasmania in 1841. Broughton epitomized the facts in a letter to Joshua Watson on 27 November of that year:

You will have heard before this time of the death of Archdeacon Hutchins. In consequence of this vacancy, Sir John Franklin, acting under the impression that he was empowered so to do by the letters patent of the (Tasmanian) archdeaconry, issued on the 3rd of June two commissions nominating a clergyman to perform the duties of archdeacon during his (Sir John's) pleasure, and to be the commissary for the Bishop within the same archdeaconry, and subject to the Bishop "during His Majesty's pleasure"—which, as Sir John is acting executive officer on the spot, means of course his own. I demurred to the propriety of these measures, made without reference to me, and I held doubtful whether even letters patent from the Crown could authorize a layman to appoint that the duties of an archdeacon shall be performed by a person who is not an archdeacon in as full and ample a manner as the same may be performed according to ecclesiastical laws, by any archdeacon within the realm of England. Also by foisting in the phrase "during my pleasure," which words are not in the King's letters patent, I thought Sir John had exceeded his Commission, or encroached upon the Royal Prerogative, and that therefore the appointment was upon this ground invalid. But in order to shew, while I maintained my own rights, that I was desirous in all points of consulting as far as was in my power the wishes of the Lieut.-Governor, I forwarded two commissions regularly made out under my seal, nominating the same clergyman to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in my stead during the vacancy, and to be my commissary within the archdeaconry. Sir John, however, was advised to make no surrender, and accordingly sent back my commissions to the Registrar, and determines to stand upon his own. I have, therefore, declined and refused to receive or acknowledge his nominee as invested with any right of spiritual jurisdiction, or in the capacity of my commissary, and have written to the Secretary of State explaining my reasons, legal and ecclesiastical, for declining to admit Sir John's nomination, and desiring that a remedy may be applied to meet this and all future cases of the kind. I have communicated the same, as in duty bound, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to my worthy friend Archdeacon Todd. My wish is to enable you to judge how far it will be expedient that measures should be taken in England to maintain my objections. To me they appear important to the whole colonial Church. . . . As you will perceive, I have told Lord John Russell (or his successor) that according to the present arrangement the Pope actually exercises, and is permitted to exercise, in my diocese an extent of jurisdiction and control which is at the same time denied to me. What I have mentioned to the Archbishop as my wish is that in future letters

patent founding or conferring archdeaconries, the right of determining and appointing the person who shall exercise spiritual jurisdiction during a vacancy shall be vested in the bishop, and not in the officer administering the government. . . .

The important principle involved in these Tasmanian cases again came into prominence in the same diocese, and in a graver form, a few years after the appointment of the first bishop, Dr Nixon. Unquestionably the ecclesiastical and the political elements in early Australian history were usually in opposition because the church authorities, at any rate during Broughton's regime, continuously claimed the traditional independence of the spirituality, while the civil government, both in England and the colony, persisted in regarding the administration of religion as a department of a quasi-military system. Bishop Nixon, as a rigid churchman, willingly co-operated in the policy of his episcopal brother at Sydney, and, it may easily be understood, thereby soon brought himself into conflict with the Tasmanian local political authorities. Within a year of his consecration as bishop, Broughton had occasion to assert his inherent spiritual authority by placing before the Secretary of State for the Colonies a protest against Sir John Franklin's having assumed the right, without having reference to the Bishop, to cite before himself and the Legislative Council two Tasmanian clergy, one of whom accused the other of having altered an educational return after it had been completed and signed for transmission to the Government. Broughton intervened, and in the course of a lengthy correspondence,⁵ submitted before the Secretary of State the Bishop's right under the licence issued to the clergy by their diocesan to exercise discipline over them. In a very long letter to the Secretary of State, the Bishop wrote:

Every clergyman of the Church of England, allow me most respectfully to urge, is liable to a jurisdiction which has full power and

⁵ Report to House of Commons—Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Australian Colonies—(25 March 1850), pt. ii., pp. 17-26.

authority to visit him for any offences he may commit in his ecclesiastical capacity, and it is so universally acknowledged as to amount to an axiom of law that a British subject carries with him to all parts of the dominions of England the same constitutional rights which were ensured to him on his native soil—subject only to such modification and abridgement as the conditions of the society to which he transfers himself may render absolutely unavoidable. I trust that it will be in my power to satisfy your lordship that with respect to the right of the clergy to be judged for ecclesiastical offences by their proper ecclesiastical superiors there is nothing so peculiar in the situation of the Church of England in this diocese as to render such abridgement necessary.

Lord Glenelg replied that the clergy, like any other members of the community, were responsible for offences against the law of the State. Ultimately the Bishop's claim to be consulted was recognized.

But the Home Government, through the Secretary of State decided, soon after Dr Nixon became the first Bishop of Tasmania, to secure ecclesiastical authority in Tasmania by instituting a system which invested⁶ (obviously with the intention of handicapping the powers and authority of the Bishop), the Lieutenant-Governor, without officially consulting the Legislative Council and without any reference to the Bishop but with the sanction of the English authorities, with power to have a number of men who acted as "religious instructors to the convicts" admitted to Holy Orders and styled "Convict Chaplains," working under a clerical "Superintendent" described as "essentially a civil officer." The Bishop had in some instances raised a few of these men to the ministry, but under the new scheme his concurrence was not necessary.

It is remarkable that Archdeacon Marriott, of Tasmania, accepted this post of Superintendent, but the Bishop records that he recognized the Archdeacon had done so believing that thereby he was conserving the Bishop's authority. More remarkable still is it that the Archbishop of Canterbury gave his approval to this extraordinary innovation upon episcopal

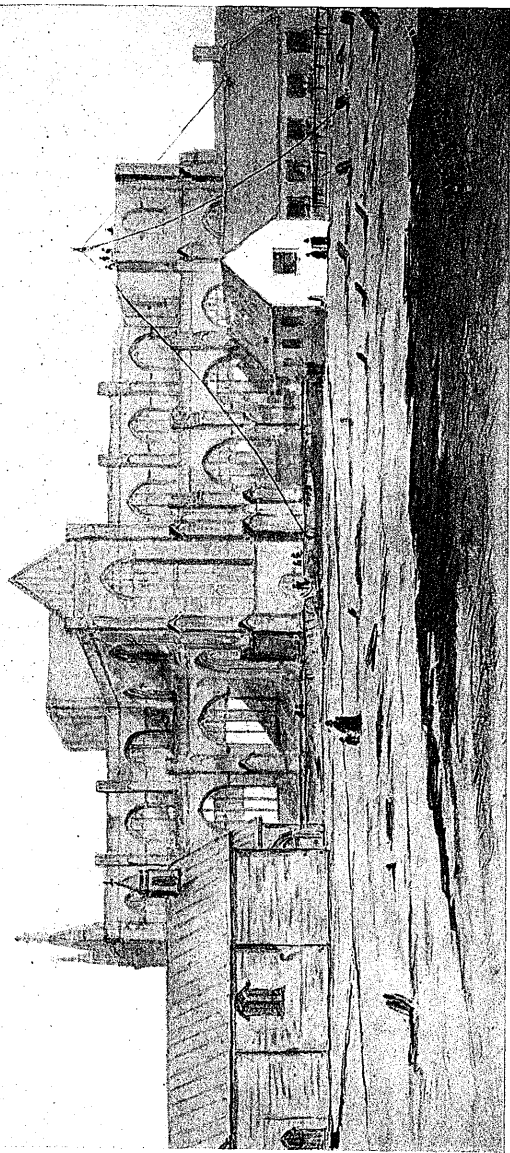
⁶ *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Tasmania at the Primary Visitation on April 23rd, 1846, by the Bishop.* 2nd edition, pp. 42-52 (London, 1848).

functions. "Most keenly," said Dr Nixon (*Charge* p. 50) "do I feel the responsibility that I take upon myself in venturing to differ from the judgment of such a man, and to prefer my own opinion. . . . My simple answer is—I dare not do otherwise. The persuasion, too, is strong within me that when His Grace's attention is turned to the real nature of these concessions (which appear to me to have been made without a due regard to the important principles involved in them), he will not find reason to quarrel with my decision." Earlier in the *Charge* (p. 44) the Bishop had stated the issue with dignity and courage: "It is distressing to me to have even the appearance of captiously placing myself in unseemly opposition to the powers that be; but if it is required of me to ratify concessions which, however they may be disguised, amount in my opinion to an actual surrender of the true interests and privileges of the Church, sorrowfully but firmly I declare that those concessions will never be confirmed by me—let the consequences to myself be what they may."

The jurisdiction of a bishop to exercise disciplinary authority over his clergy was effectually settled less than twenty years afterwards, when the first Bishop of Adelaide (Dr Short) founded in 1854 the first synod of a diocese upon the consensual compact basis of bishop, clergy, and laity which Gladstone had so strongly commended to the unestablished churches.⁷ Under this synod constitution (which he had framed after consultation in England with three first-rank legal luminaries, of whom the most distinguished was the Attorney-General for England, Sir R. Bethell, subsequently Lord Chancellor Westbury), the three constituent parties to the synodal contract accepted a system of government for the diocese, which gave it a legal foundation. The chief difficulty in its formation was concerned with the question of property, and ultimately it was determined that

⁷ F. T. Whittington, LL.B., *Augustus Short, First Bishop of Adelaide*, pp. 143-54 (London, 1888).

the clergy should hold their temporalities as tenants-at-will of the Bishop, to facilitate dealing with disciplinary cases. After the Bishop had resigned his see, in 1883, and returned to London while the election of his successor was under consideration, what seemed the autocratic authority which the diocesan had over church property occupied by the parish clergy met with some opposition, but in a reassuring letter to the London *Times* Dr Short outlined the safeguards provided for the clergy under the synodal constitution.



ST ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL IN COURSE OF ERECTION WITH PRO-CATHEDRAL
IN THE FOREGROUND

From the original in the possession of Mr William Dixon.

CHAPTER XIII

ST ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL: CHURCH PROPERTY AND ENDOWMENTS

PERHAPS it may be necessary, to prevent a wrong impression of Bishop Broughton, to make it clear that he was by no means simply an ecclesiastic and a theological controversialist. He had a big constructive mind in dealing with material things, and also more than a little of the artistic temperament.

It is surprising, because not much public notice has been called to it, to find what a prominent part he took in providing Australia with its first cathedral. Apparently he had a bent towards church architecture, for more than once while on his journeyings he had quickened the wish among the residents in some outlying bush centre to have a church by drawing outline plans and making suggestions as to construction for the building. In later days, in the church on the estate of Mr William Boydell, his son-in-law, on the River Albyn, he had a double reason for gratification¹ when it was consecrated, because he had been its architect, and he did a little manual work on the day before the ceremony in helping to finish the path leading to the church.

When he came from England as archdeacon, Broughton naturally gave his first attention to familiarizing himself with the needs of his immediate surroundings in New South Wales and of Tasmania, but he had also discussed the somewhat precipitate action of Governor Macquarie in lay-

¹ See Chapter XI.

ing in George Street, Sydney, the foundation on 31 August 1819, as recorded in his diary, for a cathedral in a colony not constituted a see until nearly twenty years later. The Governor must indeed have had an eye to the future, for the site (now in the centre of the city) was covered by its native timber and a good walk from King Street, then the southern boundary of anything like a considerable population. Near at hand was the public cemetery, an unfenced property, belonging to the Governor (never vested in the Church, as is often erroneously stated) and upon which the Town Hall and municipal buildings now stand. But Governor Macquarie's foresight in the interests of the Church was not permitted to bear immediate fruit. Within a few weeks of the cathedral stone-laying there arrived from England J. T. Bigge, the English barrister appointed to examine into the somewhat disquieting accounts that were being circulated as to the general position of the colony of New South Wales. He was accompanied, as his secretary, it will be remembered, by Thomas Hobbes Scott, an Oxford graduate, who a few year later, having taken Holy Orders, was made the first Archdeacon of New South Wales, a step in the ecclesiastical organization of the Australian settlement recommended in Bigge's report.² The superintendent of public buildings at Sydney, Mr Greenway, had prepared plans, before the Governor's cathedral project took shape, for law courts to be built in King Street on the site of the present St James's Church and the foundation stone was laid by Governor Macquarie on 7 October 1819, and in the presence of Commissioner Bigge, who then had been only a fortnight in the colony. But when the Commissioner found that a movement was on foot to provide a church for the growing population in that locality, he decided that a church on the law courts' site would best supply all the church accommodation required for a considerable time, so the now famous St James's came

² *Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Historical Society*, vol. 1, pt v, p. 83.

to be built. The Commissioner disallowed the cathedral proposal, and the foundation-stone alone remained for some eighteen years as the sole witness to the cathedral movement. This proved fortunate, for when the alignment of the Sydney streets came to be adjusted, it was found that the cathedral stone would be in about the middle of George Street—where it remained until 1837, the year following Bishop Broughton's consecration.

From the official early maps it is said to be clear that when Governor Macquarie decided upon the cathedral site he intended the block of land to extend from George Street to Kent Street. Even then, the area would have been only sufficient for a cathedral of moderate size, with but little space for associated buildings and appropriate lawns. But upon Sir Richard Bourke's succeeding to the governorship, he took over (there were no title deeds) part of the Kent Street cathedral frontage³ to about the centre of the block and sanctioned its sale, thereby destroying the possibility of the first capital city and the mother See of Australia, as it was then, being provided on its original site with a mother church befitting the prospective (and afterwards realized) ecclesiastical traditions of Sydney as the seat of the Metropolitan of New South Wales—the first ecclesiastical province formed in Australia. The official explanation said to have been made at the time of the reduction by direction of Sir Richard Bourke of the original area reserved for the cathedral by Governor Lachlan Macquarie was that an extension would be made of Clarence Street past the cathedral to Bathurst Street, which would allow of an additional entrance and further add to the dignity of the cathedral by giving it three street frontages. But the extension of Clarence Street was not made.

When in 1834 Archdeacon Broughton, as he then was,

³ This area has recently (1936) been resumed by the State Government and handed back to the Church for the purpose of extending the present cathedral.

made his first visit to England, he could not have failed to note that the reviving historic and devotional life of the Church of England was showing signs of being reflected both in structural restoration and internal appointments, in many of the old churches, upon the lines designed by their architects in the earlier centuries, while for new buildings the previously prevailing Classic was giving way to the later Gothic and the early Perpendicular styles. Doubtless all this specially attracted him, because in Sydney the cathedral remained to be built, and so he gathered much information and carried back as bishop to his diocese some sketches and plans. In 1837, the year following his return, the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, notified his intention to remove the cathedral foundation-stone to a spot within the recently settled alignment of George Street, and Broughton urged that an altogether new design, following the lines of St Mary's, Oxford, should be prepared, and a tower after the famous one, which Broughton greatly admired, of Magdalen College, Oxford, put at the west end. Governor Macquarie's original foundation-stone was transferred to its new location on 16 May 1837, and upon it was duly recorded a Latin inscription (almost certainly composed by Broughton) of its unique history. The work of building went on until 1839, when the devastating drought of that year so paralysed the resources of church people that sparse funds were contributed to the cathedral, and at last building operations were suspended at the end of 1842. But although this had to be done, the Bishop seems to have kept the project before him, for in 1844, in a correspondence with his friend Canon Gilbert, of Grantham (Linc.), in whom he had quickened a deep interest in the Australian Church and to whom he had sent an amended sketch plan of the cathedral, he says: "You must not judge of the north porch from this view; it is not at all like it. The rest is accurate. If either of the architectural societies you speak of would take the pains to criticize and improve you may be sure I should be very

thankful. I formed the design in 1837, when those societies did not exist, and no person here has the slightest ability to give me a hint or to suggest a correction. At that time I was more proud of my production than I have been since, or am now, subsequent study of church architecture having revealed to me many mistakes and anachronisms." A sermon preached some years later in Christ Church, Sydney, on behalf of the cathedral fund, at any rate shows that Broughton had the true ideals of a cathedral builder, and of the object which a cathedral should achieve.

It is gratifying to witness the transfer of the fine conceptions of immaterial thought to the substance of an earthly material: to have the abstract ideas of beauty and proportion made visible to the bodily sense, and to hail the triumph of art in the development, step by step, of the many detached members which finally combine to form the harmonious and well adjusted whole. But how much deeper and more intense the gratification for those who can almost overlook the outward form and substance in contemplation of the ends to which they are designed to minister: who can see that the expanse of space which can be measured is but a symbol of the breadth of that "love which passeth knowledge": who are able to rise to the comprehension that our cares, and labour, and expense are bestowed not for the sake of that building which is to be brought into existence but for the sake of those eternally subsisting truths which we humbly trust it will be instrumental in advancing. This is the true aim of our labour upon this building—that it may collect and associate those who will stand hereafter as advocates for the faith of the Gospel: that it may enable them, and others, to consolidate the now too devious and unconnected aims in support of "the truth as it is in Jesus," and render us more effective defenders of that truth, strengthening among us that power of internal discipline in which we are now too sensibly defective. These are among the important objects which they who can penetrate futurity perceive that the cathedral institution may, under God's blessing, be made effectual to accomplish. . . .

Actual work in continuance of the building of St Andrew's was not resumed until after the forming of the Church of England Lay Association, designed to help the Bishop and the clergy in strengthening church finances. A number of young men were members of it, and chiefly by them an offer to help in raising money for the cathedral building was made to the Bishop, who welcomed the pro-

posal and arranged a meeting at which the Lay Association suggested that they should aim at providing an annual contribution for cathedral purposes. In the first year of their effort they raised £4000, and the prospect of strong support justified a return to building operations in April 1846, with E. T. Blacket, who had recently come from England, as architect in charge. But again the subscriptions languished, partly owing to the forming of the parish of Christ Church to the south of St Andrew's, the spiritual needs of the surrounding district being thereby supplied. And so, as sufficient money was not available for going on with the permanent structure, it was decided to put up a wooden pro-cathedral near to where the deanery was built many years afterwards. This building the Bishop recognized as his cathedral, in place of St James's, King Street, where the earlier official church functions had been conducted, and it continued so to be used until the consecration of St Andrew's Cathedral in 1868. During this long interval but little progress was made with the building, a contributing cause being a discussion as to whether the proposed single tower at the west end should be proceeded with, or whether for this should be substituted the double towers befitting the cathedral of a metropolitan see. The cramped site that Governor Sir Richard Bourke had left for St Andrew's increased the difficulty of the problem. While the matter was still under debate Bishop Selwyn came on a visit from New Zealand, and his emphatic advocacy of the two towers was accepted as the final decision. The building was kept going so far as the finances allowed, and it is of interest to note that in 1849 the Bishop of Calcutta, Dr Daniel Wilson, who had been Broughton's diocesan until the founding of the See of Australia, notified that he hoped to subscribe £100 to the Sydney Cathedral fund. In the letter he said: "My health is naturally failing in my 72nd year, but I feel the same lively interest in all the ten dioceses into which the see

of Calcutta has been happily divided as I did when I was nominally the Bishop of them all."

When in 1850, the six Australasian bishops met at Sydney for conference as to the possibility of securing a measure of self-government for the Church in their dioceses, they visited Sydney Cathedral, of which the nave and aisles were nearly completed, and the happy suggestion was made that as there were six pillars in the nave, they should be associated with the bishops by their names being severally carved upon the pillars, and some years afterwards this was done. This excellent example of helping to make history by using the first Australian cathedral as a shrine for the commemoration of those who, including bishops, clergy, and laity, did pioneer service in planting the English Church in the mother colony of Australia is worthy of being widely followed. Among those so commemorated in St Andrew's are Richard Johnson, first Australian chaplain; Samuel Marsden, his successor; Thomas Hobbes Scott, first archdeacon; William Grant Broughton, first Bishop of Australia; Ven. W. Cowper, D.D., only archdeacon appointed by Bishop Broughton; Mr James Norton, first Sydney diocesan registrar; and Mr Thomas Moore, first local munificent benefactor to Sydney diocese.

Another serious hindrance crossed the path of the completion of the cathedral when, in 1851 the discovery of gold in rich quantities in the interior of New South Wales soon grew into a fever that disorganized all classes of the community and made building operations of any kind all but impossible because of the fabulous prices to which materials and wages soared, masons demanding 26s. a day, and contractors being at their wits' end to procure, and pay for, materials. In the middle of the year it was decided to postpone much of the work that had been arranged for at the cathedral, but after being resumed in sections in the successive years it was considered ready for use some seventeen years later. But the western towers were not added

until 1874. Probably the small population of Sydney in the times when its lines were being laid down and the unattractive prospect of the colony may have limited the outlook of those, both in Church and State, who were responsible for erecting a cathedral on so limited a site, and accounts for the total outlay being only £160,000. The inadequate area of a century ago has now (1936), however, been enlarged by resumptions made on behalf of the Church by the State Government. It was to this action and to the sum of money also promised that the present Archbishop of Sydney referred in his synod charge in October 1935.

"The Government is giving us," so the Archbishop said, "£20,000 a year for five years, the first instalment to become payable on July 1st next, in settlement of all outstanding claims in respect of resumptions of property and the encroachment on the original grant of land. This settlement of the Cathedral question has met with general approval. It is of the utmost importance that the opportunity presented by this additional land being handed back to the Church should be taken advantage of to erect a Cathedral and other necessary buildings which shall be really worthy of a city of the size and importance of Sydney. The proposal will include plans for a Cathedral enlarged to seat between 2000 and 3000 persons, a Chapter House to seat 1200 persons, a greatly enlarged Church House, an adequate choir school, and a residence for the Dean."

Scarcely second in importance to his duty in helping to provide his diocese with a cathedral would Broughton have reckoned his work as vice-president (the Governor being *ex officio* president) of the Church and School Corporation, the body of local officials who became trustees in whom was vested the administration of the one-seventh of the unoccupied lands of New South Wales allotted by the English Government as an endowment for the promotion of religion and education in the colony. It is not quite intelligible why the

Sydney 12th May 1837.

My dear Sir

I have the honor to forward to you such an inscription as might perhaps be not inappropriate for insertion within the stone to be laid on Tuesday, if your Excellency shall signify to me your approval of the course of thought and the latitude. As Governor Macquarie now sleeps in his native Isle of Shute I should think it almost sacrilegious to rob him of his proportion of commemoration on the present occasion and I persuade myself your Excellency will have the same feeling.

With respect to the ceremony itself, your Excellency must be aware that it is scarcely possible for any individual, officiating in a public capacity, not to
His Excellency
Lieut General Sir Richard Bourke

LETTER TO GOVERNOR BOURKE GIVING DETAILS OF THE SERVICE
AT THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF ST ANDREW'S
CATHEDRAL

From the original in the possession of Mr William Dixon.

I am not aware that more than this would be
desirable. The school-children (in number about 500)
who are to attend the ceremony, will afterwards be
regaled with a dinner at St James's School-house.

I remain

Your Excellency's very faithful servant

W. G. Australia ^{22. 2. 1807}
London

P.S. As there is much division of opinion whether
the inscription should be in Latin or English, I propose
to unite suffrages by providing for its being deposited
in both languages.

Home authorities adopted this policy of a state endowment of the Church of England, when it is remembered that it had been introduced into Canada in 1791,⁴ only thirty-five years before the formation of the Australian Corporation, and was already rousing the opposition of the other Canadian religious bodies. Probably at headquarters in England the official opinion was that as Canada was an English possession she must be administered as far as possible in accord with English ecclesiastical as well as civil law. But the opposition in Canada to the state church system continued to increase in urgency till in 1854, in sympathy with the trend towards local political self-government that had grown in strength throughout the British colonies, the Canadian provincial legislature decided to resume the "Clergy Reserves" lands still unoccupied, which were sold and the proceeds applied to unsectarian education.

It seems worth while to supplement and complete the story of church endowment by lands in Australia after Archdeacon Broughton's unsuccessful attempt in England in 1834 to secure at least a postponement of the entire dissolution of the Church and School Corporation. Notice of this had been given in 1829, in a dispatch dated 27 May, the day before Broughton left to take up the work of his archdeaconry, but he had not been notified of what was being done, although for four months previously he had been in frequent personal communication with the Home authorities. But it was found that through some office irregularity in London the instructions were invalid, and afterwards no active steps were taken by the Home Government until 1833, when the Corporation was legally dissolved, but not until 1838 were any of the lands advertised for sale. And the Bishop then persuaded the Governor to submit only a part of the estates to auction, as he proposed to approach the English authorities to protect the

⁴ Archbishop Lowther Clarke, *Constitutional Church Government in the Dominions*, pp. 78-80, 207-9.

equity rights of the Church under the original charter, which provided that if the Corporation were dissolved, "all the lands should revert to the Crown to be held and applied and disposed of in such manner as to the Sovereign for the time being should appear most conducive to the maintenance and promotion of religion and the education of youth in the said Colony." From its founding in 1826 the Sydney trustees had up to 1829 received grants of land amounting to more than 435,000 acres, of which they had sold or leased 16,000 acres, which produced a net income of several thousands of pounds from rents, and the wool and sheep and cattle for market, from the unleased land which the trustees farmed themselves. But this revenue could not be capitalized, as it was needed to support actual church work; stipends of the clergy had been assisted; churches and parsonages built; and schoolhouses and schoolmasters provided, The King's School, Parramatta, the first institution for higher education in Australia, being the most notable recipient of help given for educational uses.

The definite action by the local Government of announcing its intention to sell some of the lands in 1838 was probably the fruit of a long dispatch by Governor Bourke in 1833 to the Secretary of State in which he reiterated his well-known views that the Corporation estates should be made available for the religious and educational uses of all the colonists.⁵ But the dispatch remained unanswered for two years, when a new Secretary of State replied, at considerable length, notifying that the Ministry agreed in the main with the proposals submitted to them. An ordinance of the Legislative Council of New South Wales was passed, removing the management of the temporal affairs, both of the churches, and the schools, from the Archdeacon, the Executive Government resuming the control of them, which

⁵ W. W. Burton, *State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*. Appendixes X and XI. Also pp. 38-40.

they had exercised prior to the granting of the Church and School Corporation.

In a letter to Joshua Watson in 1844, which discloses that the formation of additional bishoprics in Australia (which Bishop Broughton had often forecasted) was coming to be regarded as ripe for consideration, the Bishop discussed the income of the original bishopric, pointing out that it continued to consist of the £2000 per annum from the consolidated revenue of New South Wales fixed when the archdeaconry had been established, and consequently that, depending upon the vote of Parliament, there was no security for it beyond the life of its then holder, the Bishop. Under these circumstances, the Secretary of State had, to quote the Bishop's letter, directed "that there should be annexed to the See of Australia in perpetuity 40 acres of land adjoining Sydney," but upon condition that any rental derived from it should be regarded as part of the episcopal income, in diminution of his stipend of £2000 a year. The Bishop urged that this reduction should not be insisted upon, but that on the contrary he should receive an extra £40 per annum in view of his intention to surrender "£1000 a year" to assist in constituting new bishoprics in Australia. He might, he thought, get some help from the Colonial Bishoprics Fund for himself. With a rental of £300 a year for an inadequate house, and continuous heavy outlay on long journeys and other incidental expenditure, only about half his present income remained to him. This episcopal glebe, the Bishop recognized, in any event, could not produce any appreciable revenue for him, but he described it to Joshua Watson as "the most important property we possess," for it gave a legal foundation for the endowment of the see. He also discussed with the Governor the survey of the land for leasehold purposes, and the extension of the length of tenure. Broughton's foresight has been altogether endorsed by the after-development of the episcopal glebe, which now

provides the foundation for the local element in the income of the See of Sydney.

It is suggestive to note that not only had Bishop Broughton unusual business capacity, but also that his personal influence seems, as such influence often does, to have, at any rate in one remarkable instance, brought large financial support to the Church. About twenty miles from Sydney on the Liverpool Plains it was the Bishop's custom when he visited the locality to receive the hospitality of its principal resident, one Thomas Moore, who may be well described as the first large benefactor to the Australian Church. He was a man of humble origin, but obviously of strong character, that led Governor Macquarie to use him as the informal agent of the Government in many directions. In return for this public service the Governor advanced Moore's interests in several ways, and at length he became a man of much substance, and also had won the respect of his neighbours, which his wife shared with him. They were without children, but Mr Moore had a stepson, born to the wife by a former marriage, and they were able to secure service for him in the Royal Engineers, where he attained to a captaincy. Reading between the lines of the Bishop's letters to his English friends, it is evident that the Moores had a strong regard for the Bishop, and as loyal churchfolk, they were liberal supporters to diocesan and parochial funds, and Moore had superintended the building of the local church. The Bishop, in the course of his English correspondence, more than once mentioned that the owner of the property had confided to him that he intended in his will to remember the Church, but the Bishop added that he had impressed upon this godly layman that a man's first duty in such matters was to help all his natural relations whom he considered had any reasonable claim. Upon the death of Captain White, the stepson, and of Mrs Moore within a year afterwards, the way was altogether open to Thomas Moore to carry out his pious

intentions, but the Bishop preferred that his personal friend, Judge Burton, formerly of the New South Wales Bench, should conduct the negotiations for the Church, rather than that he should do so. The outcome was that, upon Moore's death in 1841, property in lands and houses valued at about £20,000 passed to the Church. The bequest provided that the principal residence on the estate and 2000 acres should be set apart as a residence for the occupant of the See of Sydney, upon the expiry of the current lease. When Judge Burton visited England, Joshua Watson and he devised a scheme for buying the leasehold at once and putting Bishop Broughton in possession, and they also obtained from the S.P.G. a promise to finance a chaplain for the Bishop, who would also be available for emergency clerical duty, of which Broughton had himself to take the greater part because all his staff were continuously occupied. But as the purchase of the Liverpool leasehold would have absorbed a goodly sum and the distance from Sydney would seriously affect episcopal work at headquarters, and as the proposed chaplain was mainly intended to lessen the Bishop's office work, he firmly asked that the proposals should not be pressed, and his good friends had to give way.

On the Liverpool estate there was another house which Mr Moore occupied towards the close of his life. This he directed should be the site of "a college," to be endowed with the testator's lands in and around the township of Liverpool. Towards augmenting the stipends of the clergy he allotted 4000 acres, and a Sydney property let at £420 a year was left to Sydney Cathedral. There was also a large amount of money to be applied for the benefit of a number of specified church purposes.⁶ The trustees of the will determined to apply the college bequest to the foundation of a theological institution for the training of candidates for

⁶ Report of Moore Theological College 1916, by Archdeacon D. J. Davies, M.A. (Cantab.), the principal.

Holy Orders, and so Moore College came into existence. But no actual steps were taken until after Bishop Barker succeeded to the see, and gave much encouragement and financial support to the project. Mr Moore's homestead, "Moorebank," became the home of the principal of the college, and many additional buildings were connected with it. The chapel appropriately bears the name of Bishop Broughton. Moore College was opened in 1856 and remained at Liverpool for thirty-three years, 157 students passing from it into the Ministry during that time, two becoming bishops. In 1889 the college was transferred to a site adjoining St Paul's College, University of Sydney. In the ensuing quarter of a century 200 more clergy received their training in the college, so that the total up to date must be quite an imposing one.

Besides the godly layman, Thomas Moore, the name of an English clergyman who, like Mr Moore, had associations with Bishop Broughton, and showed the same pious munificence towards the Australian Church in the early days, should be mentioned in recalling some of the sources of the financial help given to the Church's foundation work in pioneer times. Probably the existence of the Rev. Dr S. W. Warneford is unknown but to a few Australians, though a small Hobart street bears his name, and it is reasonable to suggest that Bishop Broughton by his public acknowledgments of the good clergyman's benefactions may have led to this simple memorial of him. He was a Gloucester vicar with apparently ample private means, and evidently looked upon his wealth as a trust to be largely devoted to religious uses. As a close friend of Joshua Watson he, like Broughton, made that wise counsellor an adviser as to objects worthy of his charity, and so he came to hear of the Bishop of Australia and his far-extending diocese. Upon Mr Watson's recommendation, the Bishop wrote in 1838 at length to the Gloucester vicar, indicating some of the urgent necessities of the Australian Church, and correspondence

followed, but the two never met. When Judge Burton made a trip to England two years after the Bishop's letter, Joshua Watson brought Dr Warneford and him together, and the Bishop's plans and difficulties were laid before the good clergyman by his enthusiastic lay helper in Sydney. The first financial fruit of the mutual conversations was £1000 given by the Doctor for general educational purposes in Australia. Help followed towards the theological library, for which Edward Coleridge and other English friends had already gathered a goodly collection of books. And there must have been other ways in which Dr Warneford supported Broughton, for it is recorded.⁷ "He was a warm admirer of Bishop Broughton's character, never mentioning his name without some expression of esteem, and of this esteem he afterwards gave sufficient proof by his benefactions to the see of Sydney."

⁷ Edward Churton, *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, vol. ii, p. 60.

CHAPTER XIV

SUBDIVISION OF THE SEE OF AUSTRALIA

FROM one with Broughton's firm hold upon the necessity for apostolic order, as well as gospel teaching, in the extension of Christianity, it was to be expected that he would be often found in his private letters as well as in his public utterances insisting that the provision of clergy to minister in Australia must, as soon as practicable, be followed by bishops to supply the Catholic ministerial organization in its completeness. But none would have understood better than he that the slow progress of the settlement of a free population upon the far-spreading lands, and the expense of maintaining a bishop, with the incidentals of his office, on a very moderate scale, were elements in the problem that must always be carefully considered. The financial aspect, the Bishop often urged, would not be serious if civil governments accepted the upkeep of religion and education as a first charge upon land revenues, and if private holders of estates recognized that voluntary offerings for the same purpose were due from them as a part of their duty to God from income accruing from the products of the soil. In his episcopal charge of 1841 he treated this question at some length and with uncompromising plain speaking. Yet despite all the difficulties, and the consciousness that his counsel was regarded as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," the good Bishop sounded with increasing urgency, as the years rolled on, his slogan "We must have bishops."



ST ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL AS ORIGINALLY PLANNED



ST ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL AS ERECTED

The Colonial Bishoprics Fund must, by its sympathy and support, have been his main earthly source of consolation in this sphere of his activities, and his persistent appeal for the subdivision of his enormous diocese may well be credited as at least partly the cause of the launching of the fund, though the glory of getting it founded belongs to that earnest protagonist of the extension of the Church of England throughout the British colonies in the middle of the nineteenth century, Bishop C. J. Blomfield, of London, ably seconded in the organization of details by the enthusiastic secretary of the S.P.G., the Rev. Ernest Hawkins. In his encouragement of the work of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G., Bishop Blomfield, in concert with Broughton's friends, Joshua Watson, Edward Coleridge, and H. H. Norris, must have heard much of Australia and its first bishop.¹ By his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) in 1840 the Bishop of London took the lead in the movement for the development of the colonial episcopate and laid down the fundamental principle which should govern it. He wrote:

The difference between our past labours in the work of erecting colonial churches and those which are now called for must be this—that whereas we formerly began by sending out a few individual missionaries to occupy detached and independent fields of labour, unconnected with one another by their relation to a common oversight in the execution of their task although deriving their spiritual authority from a common origin, and then after an interval of many years placing them under the guidance and control of bishops, we should now, after having supplied the wants of those older churches which are still destitute of the benefit of episcopal government, take care to let every new colony enjoy that blessing from the very first. Let every band of settlers which goes forth from Christian England with authority to occupy a distinct territory and to form a separate community take with it not only its civil rulers and functionaries but also its bishop and clergy.

Shortly after the publication of this courageous letter the Archbishop called a meeting of clergy and laity, and what

¹ Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Hon Sec. Colonial Bishoprics Fund: *Documents relating to Additional Bishoprics in the Colonies (1841-1855)*, p. 12 f. (S.P.G., London).

may rightly be described as an amazing gathering, remembering the dominant temper of the Church of England at the time, took place in Willis's Rooms, London, which was overcrowded by an assemblage of bishops, clergy, lawyers, doctors, and business men. When a report of the proceedings reached the Bishop of Australia he characterized it as "a miracle," and, referring to Bishop Blomfield, added "and will entitle his name to veneration in this hemisphere so long as the sun and moon endureth." The munificent financial support it at once called forth may be taken as an index of the deep impression it had made. The S.P.C.K. started the fund with a noble contribution of £10,000, and the S.P.G. followed with £7500. The Church Missionary Society guaranteed £600 a year, earmarked for New Zealand. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London each subscribed £1000, and there was a long list of other large contributors. The Archbishop of Canterbury, at the suggestion of this meeting, then arranged for a gathering of all the bishops at Lambeth Palace on the Tuesday in Whitsun Week, 1841, and the whole episcopate agreed to be appointed as trustees, while as treasurers to the proposed fund, Mr Justice Coleridge and Messrs W. E. Gladstone, J. G. Hubbard (who purchased the ruins of St Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury and gave them as the site for St Augustine's College) and W. H. Hale were secured. And so the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was legally constituted, and within twelve years endowed from the £140,000 received as the result of the inaugural meeting in 1841. The original capital of the fund had been supplemented by £33,000, mainly provided by the noble generosity of Miss (afterwards Baroness) Burdett Coutts for the endowment of the sees of Capetown and Adelaide. And Bishop Broughton, who, prior to the establishing of the fund, had offered to surrender half of his income of £2000 a year towards providing bishops for Melbourne and Newcastle, New South Wales, was allowed to contribute £500 per annum for that purpose.

In 1848, the year following the consecration of the four colonial bishops in Westminster Abbey, the treasurer of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund reported to its trustees, the Bench of Bishops, that the great total of £173,000 had been all allocated. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner) convened a public meeting in Willis's Rooms,² London, on 20 April 1849, to put before the Church the details of the increase of the episcopate in the overseas colonies from the ten sees of 1841 to the twenty-five of 1848, and also to appeal for money to carry on further work. All but three, Western Australia and Northern and Southern India, of the centres first commended by the originators of the fund as needing episcopal oversight, had already become sees. Provision for Indian bishoprics would probably not be made from the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. In other directions, however, the demands upon it would inevitably grow. The Rev. Ernest Hawkins (secretary of the fund), in his address, made the impressive statement that the number of clergy had increased within the areas of the new sees, from 274 when the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was founded, to 503 in the twelve years which had since elapsed. The large number of emigrants into the British colonies, he said, would also open up fields for more bishops, and already in some of the more thickly settled colonies the question was even now being raised of subdivision of the original dioceses. It was estimated that £10,000 would be needed for the endowment of each new see, and £5000 for settlement of clergy in the new dioceses, with other incidental expenses. At the close of the meeting £4000 was subscribed, including £500 from the Archbishop of Canterbury. The story of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund deserves wide publicity, for it may well prove an inspiration for churchmen in every generation. And Australia has much cause for thankfulness that the first Bishop of Australia evidently took a prominent part in the launching and sup-

² *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. vi, p. 438.

port of it. He had reported to the Archbishop and to his English friends that the local Government of New South Wales had decided to fix its financial grant in aid to religion and education, at a block sum for all the denominations at £30,000, of which about £17,000 a year would be allotted to the Church of England. It would therefore be desirable, he urged, for the church authorities to settle their policy for the subdivision of the See of Australia, so that the £17,000 could be at once equitably allocated in view of the proposed new conditions.

At the request of the Archbishop, the Bishop supplied Canterbury with a lengthy preliminary report of recommendations as to how best to utilize the remarkable provision that had been made for extending the episcopate in the huge Australian continent, suggesting that two more sees, covering, as he said, "half a million square miles," should be established, one including the seven northern counties of New South Wales, with Newcastle as its centre, and covering the Moreton Bay district, the Queensland of to-day; the other, with Melbourne as the see town, comprising the whole of the Port Phillip district, now the State of Victoria. To the Diocese of Australia would remain the twelve counties of New South Wales after seven had been allotted to Newcastle.

The delimitation of the three dioceses inevitably gave rise to inquiries as to the best available men for the new bishoprics, and this led to suggestions, in private correspondence, that show what significant consequences might have happened if some of these suggestions had been carried out. Broughton had submitted for the new See of Melbourne the name of only one of the clergy then working in Australia, in answer to an inquiry from the Archbishop, the Rev. R. Allwood, a Cambridge man holding the incumbency of St James's, Sydney, and Bishop Broughton's valued helper in the training of candidates for ordination. But Mr Allwood pleaded weak health as an insuperable difficulty



BISHOP SELWYN
From an engraving in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.



BISHOP TYRRELL

in the way of his acceptance. As the breach between Bishop Nixon, of Tasmania, and Sir John Franklin, because the Governor claimed the power of disciplining the clergy without the concurrence of the Bishop, had resulted in strained relations, Broughton next hinted in a letter to Edward Coleridge that the Tasmanian bishop might be transferred to Melbourne. This led to Coleridge's telling the Bishop that his own name was being brought forward for Adelaide. To this Broughton offered strong opposition because he regarded the proposal as a totally inadequate recognition of Coleridge's great services to the Colonial Church. He wrote:

If you are to come to a colonial bishopric the only station worthy of you will be India or here (Sydney). I say here because from the continual augmentation of Australian sees, which has not yet reached its limit, and from the step recently taken at Rome of creating an archbishopric, it is plain that we must shortly have also a metropolitan in these parts, and that may indeed be a station suited for you. Were it proposed to me, it would be, speaking with full sincerity, the most painful offer ever made to man. I could not resolve to take it, if for no other reason, yet for the Apostle's "his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible." Indeed I do not mean by any false assumption of modesty to undervalue the services which in fourteen years' hard work I have been marvellously enabled to render here, but I do seriously think and say that when the course of events leads on to the necessity of a higher and more conspicuous dignity, it ought to be committed not to me but to a younger man, and a more personable man. I have carried things perhaps to the point which my qualifications were best suited for, and there may be a fresh impulse necessary which a successor would communicate with more effect. There is Moore's College to bring to maturity, in connection with the King's School at Parramatta and the Grammar School at Sydney which are to be its feeders; there is the Cathedral to complete; and there are half a dozen other undertakings plainly marked out to immortalise the doer of them. Without retracting therefore my caution as to your relinquishing your present post, I do say that if you are to enter upon any colonial bishopric, your proper post will be that of Metropolitan of Australia, and though I am prepared to go on with it so long as Providence appoints me to the task, I should nevertheless very willingly surrender the charge into your hands. New Zealand would fall of course under the jurisdiction. I did once, slightly refer to the subject in writing to the Bishop of London, and you are quite at liberty, if the project should be canvassed, to lay all that I have now said, and to dispose of me as you think best. You will ask me what do I myself propose to do? I

reply that if my two dear children were moderately provided for (which would not be difficult) I have no anxiety about myself. About £400 a year, with the use of books, would give me all that I want, or my wife would want, for we are well matched in moderation of desires. But that which has fixed itself strongly in my thoughts is the design, which I wrote to you about last year, of having an institution in England for the preparation of candidates for Orders in the Colonies, beyond what the Universities may supply. The want of qualified clergymen is a serious calamity here and everywhere. If any such institution could be drawn together, and your able relative Bishop Coleridge would not undertake the guidance, I think that as an unworthy substitute I might do good, and that would be the way in which if I were to leave my present charge it would be my desire to be employed. At any rate, do not go to South Australia. There is no opening there worthy of you. Here you would have a hard battle to fight, but upon a stage where you may prove your qualities to the full. Indeed I know no grander destiny, nor one which would call forth more extended powers whether of mind or body. I do unfeignedly say that it is beyond mine or very soon will be, for at fifty-five, which I am very nearly, it is not natural that a man should be fitted for the endurance of continually increasing cares and duties, which in a new and growing world like this must necessarily be expected. I assure you in all this I am perfectly serious, although I would not say it to anybody but you. But if events work in the course I have supposed, and you have the inclination to encourage them in so working towards the consummation now mentioned, you have my full permission to act as the advantage of the Church may seem to you to require. If in twelve months you were to send me word that such an arrangement was so far settled as to leave no doubt of its being carried into effect I should very speedily avail myself of the leave of absence which you would procure and send me, and should lay my hands on you as my successor with gratitude and a safe conscience, because it is obvious that you would be equal to the burden. But notwithstanding all this, my dear Coleridge, when South Australia is offered to you, as you say it probably will be, let me entreat you to ponder well, to consult your own conscience, and the judgment of your friends, before you agree to accept it. My hesitation on your behalf, I repeat, is founded on the question which I cannot but entertain, whether you are not in your present station forwarding the cause of the colonial churches as effectively as you could do if you were to undertake the oversight of any one of them in particular, even of this which stands at the head of this hemisphere. . . .

The unveiling of his soul to which Broughton shows he was moved by the discussion about the new bishops throws a beauteous light upon the depth of the spiritual nature of this usually reserved and austere man, with its striking

admixture of personal humility and yet glorious readiness to respond to the call of duty. An earlier instance of the manifestation of this occurred in the first years of his Australian life. On the death of Bishop James, of Calcutta, who was Broughton's diocesan, attention was turned to the Archdeacon of New South Wales as a possible successor. When Broughton heard of this from his English friends he wrote with pathetic earnestness, disclaiming his fitness for such an important post, and beseeching that his name should not be brought forward, but he added that if the suggestion were made to him by the authorities of the Church he must consider whether it was not a rightful appeal to his duty. There is no further reference to the matter in his correspondence.

It may be concluded that Broughton was strongly influenced in not pursuing the intimation he gave to Edward Coleridge that, if he could hope that the Eton master would succeed him in the See of Sydney, he would be quite ready to return to some such post as the wardenship of St Augustine's College, Canterbury, by a charming letter from Mr Justice Coleridge. The letter also deals, as a matter of news, with the sturdy Tractarian lawyer's view of the impending secession of Newman, and the attitude in general of the English bishops towards the Tractarian Movement. The Judge writes:

Edward offers to inclose a note from me to you, and I venture on the liberty of writing a few lines. I am sure you must be aware of the deep interest with which I watch your proceedings, and how entirely I sympathize with you in the disheartening difficulties with which you have to contend. Our consolation here is that it has fallen on such as you are to encounter them, and we cannot entertain a doubt that you are strengthened and supplied, and will be, from above, in proportion as your difficulties grow upon you. With these feelings I assure you that it would dismay me much, if you were to "look backward." I am far from holding upon this point extreme doctrines, and I think that a bishop even had in many cases better not die in harness—the public good, and a reasonable consideration for his own most precious interests may make a case for his retreat. But this time is not yet come for you, so far as we can judge by what you do—and I cannot help thinking that to

retreat just when the conflict is becoming most warm and the opponent most powerful and active, would be very prejudicial to the cause. Excuse me, too, for thinking that though we here cannot judge so well on many parts of the question as you there—especially in a matter so much dependent on yourself—yet, on the other hand, you may be under feelings and temptations which may sometimes unfavourably affect your own judgment on the matter. Will you excuse my freedom in saying all this, and set it down only to the sincere and strong desire I have to retain your services for the diocese?

You will be glad to glean from anyone intelligence as to the Church here—especially in the conflict which divides her. The papers will inform you, and (may be) magnify, the importance of the inopportune discussions which have lately taken place, and Newman's resignation of his living. The former are capable of satisfactory explanation, I mean as regards Newman; but the latter is not so easily disposed of, and will give a strong colour to what has been said, and whatever may occur. I regret it exceedingly—unless he feels that he cannot conscientiously exercise the priestly office in our communion (which as yet, I am told, he disclaims) no vexation, I think, or misunderstanding should have driven him to this step. If he says, "I wish to show that you will force such men as me out of your communion," in the hopes thereby to arrest the course of his opponents, he should consider also how much the very step he has taken is likely to urge them on in their course. The man who drives a dog mad is only the more convinced that the dog was mad when he began to drive him. I own I am strongly led to think that there is a good deal of this same driving in the proceedings of our Spiritual Fathers. The truth is, I fear, that the Church was brought to this crisis when the studies of Churchmen had little prepared them to deal with it.

I remain, my Lord, with the greatest respect, and the most sincere regard,

Your faithful well-wisher,
J. T. COLERIDGE.

The selection of the first bishops for Melbourne, Adelaide, and Newcastle, with the Rev. Robert Gray, vicar of Stockton-on-Tees, who became the courageous upholder of the Church's doctrine as Bishop of Capetown, was officially completed early in 1846; and some extracts from the historic documents, and brief personal notes concerning the Australian bishops-elect, is all that can, for want of space, be given as introductory to a short account of the consecration in Westminster Abbey on St Peter's Day, 1847—which is often spoken of as "the birthday of the Colonial Church."

A full report of this epoch-making ceremony, which may rightly be so regarded in relation to the planting of the Church of England in the British Empire, will be found in the *Colonial Church Chronicle*,³ a monthly magazine established to further the expansion of the Church in the British Dominions, and ably conducted by an honorary literary staff for twenty-seven years, the profits being given to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund.

On 25 February the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, as honorary secretary of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, wrote to W. E. Gladstone, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies:

SIR,

With reference to the letter of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Stanley, dated 21st July, 1845, I am directed to inform you that the Bishop of Australia, with a view to the immediate subdivision of his diocese, has consented to transfer £600 a year of his episcopal income for the endowment of a bishopric at Port Phillip, without any other stipulation than that of the annexation of the forty acres of land in the neighbourhood of Sydney to the Bishopric of Australia.

The committee for the erection and endowment of bishoprics in the colonies have on their part, in addition to the grant of £1200 for the purchase of an episcopal residence at Melbourne (as notified in the letter to Lord Stanley) agreed to allow a sum of £500 for a purchase of land for the endowment.

Under these circumstances, I am to express the earnest hope of the committee that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to take immediate measures for the erection of Melbourne into a bishop's see. Should you, as empowered by the Act of 5 and 6 Vic. c 76 schedule C, think fit to order a perpetual appropriation of the £2000—the income received by the present Bishop—to the support of the Episcopate in Australia, permanent provision will be made for the two bishoprics.

On 20 March following, Mr Hawkins writes to Mr Gladstone:

The Colonial Bishoprics Committee having learned from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Government was prepared to sanction the appropriation of the annual sum of £500 to each of two new bishoprics to be erected within the present Diocese of Australia, provided that two-thirds of that amount were furnished from other sources, have directed me to inform you that they will

³ See vol. 1, pp. 41-60.

guarantee out of the monies at their disposal the proportion of income required by the Government for the endowment of the two sees—namely £333/6/8 per annum for each. This income they propose to secure by investment in land in the Colony of New South Wales, and I have only to express an earnest hope on the part of the Colonial Bishopricks Committee that Her Majesty's consent may be obtained with the least possible delay for a measure which cannot fail to strengthen and consolidate the Church of England in that portion of Her Majesty's Dominions.

Eight days later the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Howley) writes to Gladstone:

I have read with the greatest attention the draft of a despatch which it is your intention to address to Governor Sir Charles FitzRoy containing instructions with respect to the division of the see of Australia into three sees, and to the means of providing competent incomes for the bishops of these sees respectively. The plan as drawn out in this despatch appears to me to be admirably calculated to effect an object indispensable to the due administration of ecclesiastical government—and consequently to the advancement of pure religion and morals—in that most important and extensive colony.

The terms in which you speak of the Bishop of Australia's proposal, on which this arrangement is founded, are particularly gratifying to me. The disregard of personal interests, and zeal for the interests of our holy religion, manifested on his lordship's part cannot be too highly estimated. From his hearty co-operation with the Governor, and the assistance which will be derived from his long experience and sound judgment in carrying out the general scheme and arranging the details, I anticipate the most satisfactory results.

Allow me to suggest that the appropriation of a moderate portion of land to each of the new bishoprics would, if practicable, be very desirable, and might hereafter furnish the means of improving the incomes of the bishops, which are now unavoidably fixed on the lowest scale.

In a postscript His Grace adds: "It is my intention to write to the Bishop of Australia by next Tuesday's mail for the purpose of apprising his lordship of the nature of the instructions sent out to the Governor, and of my entire concurrence in the proposed plan."

In a dispatch dated 30 March, Gladstone, writing to the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Charles FitzRoy, on the subject of Bishop Broughton's proposal to give up part of his income towards formation of bishoprics of Melbourne and Newcastle, says: "It is my obvious and gratifying duty

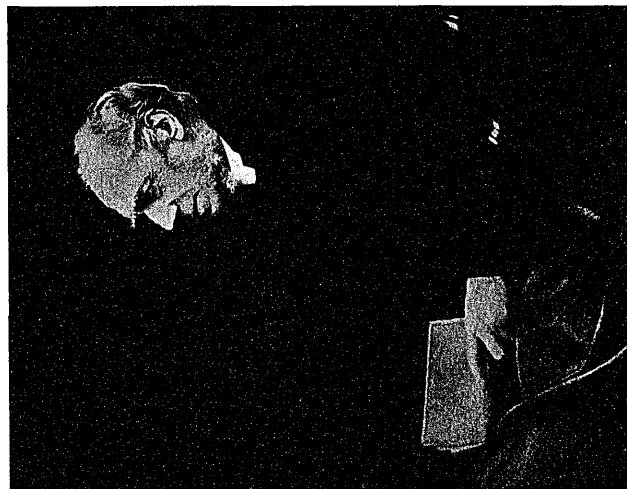
to request that you will, on the part of Her Majesty's advisers, convey to the Bishop of Australia the very strong sense which they entertain both of the eminent purity and disinterestedness of motive by which his lordship's munificent offer has been prompted, and of the wisdom of the plan itself with reference to the interests of the Church over which he presides." The Bishop of Sydney's income was fixed by this dispatch henceforward at £1500. It can only be suggested that the English Government allowed Bishop Broughton to surrender even £500 a year, the amount finally agreed upon; of his income from an insufficient knowledge of the facts, although Mr Justice Burton, of the New South Wales Bench, when he visited England a few years before the subdivision of the bishopric of Australia, had pressed upon Broughton's friends that the original stipend, fixed in the Bishop's letters patent, of £2000 per annum was not adequate, there being no episcopal residence and very considerable expenses for travelling and other expenditure incidental to his office, and a substantial part of this expenditure remained to be met by him after the division of his see. It seems impossible that a devoted churchman like Gladstone should have individually approved of permitting Bishop Broughton to make such a heavy financial sacrifice towards extending the Australian episcopate. He probably only acted as the mouthpiece of the English and Colonial Governments. The suggestion that the poor Bishop should also agree to any revenue from the Bishop of Australia's glebe of forty acres being deducted from his reduced income of £1500 a year only made the whole incident look more deplorable, but Broughton properly objected in the interest of his successor to this being done, and the proposal seems not to have been pressed.

All the important details for the creation of the new sees having been settled, Gladstone addressed a formal letter of information to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and besought her royal consent to what had been agreed upon, and

had received the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a concluding sentence Gladstone wrote that he "had great satisfaction in beseeching Your Majesty's favourable consideration of these arrangements, alike on account of their intrinsic advantage and of the eminently disinterested proceeding on the part of the Bishop of Australia, by which they have been rendered practical." The Queen in giving the consent asked for expressed the hope "that the two new bishops will be very carefully chosen." A review of the prolonged negotiations for securing fitting occupants for the new bishoprics shows that the wise caution advised by Her Majesty had been already before the minds of those who had the heavy responsibility of making recommendations cast upon them. And the results of their work proved that each had justified the confidence placed in him.

Referring to the bishops who were secured for the Australasian Church as the fruit of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, two of them prior to the St Peter's Day 1847 consecration, George Augustus Selwyn, consecrated in 1841 Bishop of New Zealand, the first see founded by the Bishoprics Fund, brought glory to the band of bishoprics under the Southern Cross, and set a noble example to those who were soon associated with him. After graduating from St John's, Cambridge, with a second in the classical tripos, and ultimately receiving a fellowship, he worked as a private tutor at his beloved Eton. Soon after his ordination to the priesthood he accepted what was actually a curacy in charge of Windsor, the rector being non-resident. Then came the offer of the bishopric of New Zealand, where he did his wonderful work until called to Lichfield on the express wish of the Queen. He was one of the trusted advisers of Broughton in the campaign for the self-government of the Colonial Churches.

In the year following Selwyn's appointment to New Zealand, the Colonial Bishoprics Fund enabled Tasmania to be raised to an episcopal see, as Bishop Broughton had urgently



BISHOP PERRY



BISHOP SHORT

recommended.⁴ Francis Russell Nixon, the first bishop, was a clergyman's son, educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St John's, Oxford, where he obtained a probationary fellowship, having graduated with a third class in classics. After ordination he served as chaplain to the Embassy at Naples, which may account for his life-long love of Italy. Returning to England he held in succession the parishes of Sandgate and Ash in Kent, and became one of six preachers of Canterbury Cathedral. In his thirty-ninth year the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) nominated him to the Tasmanian see, and he was consecrated by Bishop Blomfield, of London, under commission from the Archbishop, in Westminster Abbey on St Bartholomew's Day, 1842. As a definite churchman he endorsed Bishop Broughton's policy for the Church in Australia, and Broughton strongly supported the Tasmanian Bishop in his opposition to the claim of the Governor, Sir John Franklin, to exercise discipline over the clergy, because they were government chaplains, without reference to the Bishop. Bishop Nixon in his sixtieth year resigned his see after an episcopate of twenty-one years, and accepted the rectory of Bolton Percy, near York, from the Archbishop. But failing health drew him back to Italy, and having friends near Lago Maggiore he passed the evening of his days among them. Queen Victoria, with whom the Bishop had been brought into contact during her Italian holidays, formed a high opinion of him, and sent her physician to him in his last illness. He died in 1889, and his grave is in the cemetery, which he had himself consecrated, of Stressa.

The consecration in Westminster Abbey on St Peter's Day, 1847, of the three other Australian bishops thereby associated with the Bishop of Australia, was celebrated with a dignity that happily contrasted with the services attending the setting apart for the episcopate of Broughton and Selwyn respectively, in Lambeth Palace Chapel,⁵ of which

⁴ R. A. Giles, *Constitutional History of the Australian Church*, p. 51.

⁵ See Chapter V.

they severally expressed disappointment and which Edward Coleridge vigorously criticized. Not only was the later consecration celebrated in the venerable fane which Anglicans have come to regard as the cathedral of the Empire but, in expectation of an unusually large congregation, the wooden screens dividing the transepts from the choir were removed, thus providing space for 1600 people, and when all this became filled the Dean issued an order that every possible spot in the Abbey should be made available. The consecration came, at its appointed place in the Prayer Book, in a choral Eucharist, the occasional sermon being preached by the Bishop of London from St John xxi, 17. With his accustomed courage and enthusiasm, Bishop Blomfield proclaimed the ancient doctrine of the apostolic ministry, and the obligation upon the Church in successive generations to labour for its maintenance and expansion. Speaking of the Church of England, the preacher said :

The Church's exertions in behalf of her remoter branches have been miserably inadequate to the exigency of the case. Whatever has been done for the enlargement of her boundaries and for the spiritual well-being of her children has been done by a comparatively small number of persons. The members of Christ's mystical body have not sympathised with one another, nor laboured for the increase of the body itself, in any measure answerable to the plain requirements of Christian duty. Of the noble and wealthy of the land, those to whom others naturally look for an example, the number who have contributed to that holy and indispensable work is so inconsiderable that it is painful to think of. Let us pray the Lord of the harvest that He will put into the hearts of those of His servants whom He has entrusted with the means, to forward by an equitable measure of liberality the ingathering of souls into the garner of the Church. . . .

In his special exhortation to those about to be consecrated, the preacher said :

My brethren upon whom we are about to supplicate a special effusion of the Holy Spirit for the "office and work" of bishops "in the Church of God," bear forth with you the Church's benediction to her distant children, and tell them that while her prayers will ascend to the Mercy Seat for their edification and growth in grace

under your pastoral government and paternal care, she greatly needs in return their prayers and yours for a larger measure of the influence of that Holy Spirit upon her "bishops, and curates and all congregations committed to their charge," that they may be "watchful and strengthen the things which remain," and remember what they have received and heard, and hold fast and repent. Your zeal and order and harmony will be a testimony against our lukewarmness and confusion and divisions; your prayers in our behalf may possibly make that admonition effectual. It is thus that though absent in the flesh we may be joined together in the spirit, mutually fulfilling the most important duty implied in the communion of saints, strengthening each other by prayer and intercession.

There were fourteen bishops, from Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, at the service, 760 communions were made, and the alms amounting to £550 were given to the Colonial Bishops Fund.

In its report of the consecration, the *Colonial Church Chronicle*⁶ wrote: "Surely there has not been such a Communion in this our day, nor, as we believe, for ages in the Church here in England," and the writer very aptly quotes from St Augustine's commentary on Psalm xlv: "*Vide templum Regis quam late diffusum est. . . . Haec est Catholica Ecclesia: filii eius constituti sunt principes super omnem terram, filii eius constituti sunt pro patribus. Agnoscant qui praecisi sunt, veniant ad unitatem, adducantur in templum Regis. Templum suum Deus ubique collocavit, fundamenta Prophetarum et Apostolorum ubique firmavit. Filios gemit Ecclesia, constituit eos pro patribus suis principes super omnem terram.*"

It is satisfactory to be able to record that the three bishops consecrated for Australia on that ever memorable St Peter's Day reached the high standard for bishops under the Southern Cross which had been set by their two predecessors, Selwyn in New Zealand and Nixon in Tasmania. It is said that, quite informally, Gladstone, many years after the formation of the new sees, once observed referring to the whole five men: "There were giants in the earth in those days."

⁶ Vol. I, p. 45.

Charles Perry, first Bishop of Melbourne, went from Harrow to Cambridge intending to read law. He graduated from Trinity College as senior wrangler, first Smith's prizeman, first class in the classical tripos, and became a fellow of his college. His high scholarship gave him much influence in moulding the educational life of Victoria, and his cultured Evangelicalism made him a special power in the counsels of the Australian Church. Augustus Short, first Bishop of Adelaide, graduating from Christ Church College, Oxon, took a first class in classics, and after some work as a private tutor he received a tutorship from his college, and became a junior censor. At Christ Church he came into touch with men who afterwards rose to distinction, among them Gladstone, Pusey, Archibald Campbell Tait, Lord Shaftesbury, Canning, and Archbishop Longley. Many years later, in the library at Bishops court, Adelaide, to nervous candidates going through the ordination mill, the Bishop, during the blessed interval for afternoon tea, would often tell, *en passant*, how he had taken "Gladstone through Thucydides at Christ Church." The future bishop was also honoured by a Bampton lectureship. He identified himself with the Tractarian Movement, and corresponded with Pusey and others in relation to it, but was perturbed by Tract 90, and joined in the condemnation of Ward's *Ideal of the Church*, but refused to concur in its author's being penalized by the University. After his marriage he accepted the living of Ravensthorpe, in Northamptonshire, whence he was called to be first Bishop of Adelaide. With his educational experiences he from the first made higher education a prominent plank in his policy, and became Chancellor of the University.

William Tyrrell, first Bishop of Newcastle, was a Charterhouse boy who passed on to St John's, Cambridge, where he graduated senior optime. He had as his undergraduate friend George Augustus Selwyn, the two being first drawn



BISHOP NIXON

From an engraving in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

together by their love of sport, especially rowing. After serving a curacy at Aylestone, near Leicester, where he remained for five years, he accepted from the Duke of Buccleugh the Hampshire rectorate of Beaulieu, in which he stayed until called to the episcopate. He was much loved by his parishioners because of the deep personal interest he showed in them. His friendship with Selwyn continued after university days, and upon the founding of the bishopric of New Zealand his old college chum urged him to accept an archdeaconry there, but Tyrrell decided to continue in his English parish. The strong friendship between the first Bishop of New Zealand and him was not broken by their wide separation, and when Tyrrell consented to become the first Bishop of Newcastle (New South Wales) they were drawn closer together. Their mutual definite churchmanship gave them an additional bond of sympathy, and they delighted to work together for the general good of the Australian Church.

After their consecration the three new bishops, Melbourne, Adelaide, Newcastle, while preparing for embarkation to their dioceses occupied such time as they found available in visiting centres in England where they gave information about Australia and the Church's work awaiting them there. Meanwhile Bishop Broughton wrote to the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. societies and to his personal friends and supporters letters expressing profound gratitude for the wonderful recent development of the attitude of the mother Church of England towards her children overseas, and for the remarkable financial help given for expansion work in the British colonies. He then turned to the heavy and anxious task of formulating, in concert with the authorities in England, plans for inaugurating the preliminary machinery for starting the new dioceses, an undertaking that must have consumed much time and energy. But he saw the value it would be to him under the changed conditions to

provide an archdeacon who in his official capacity could be of much use to himself and his diocese. He nominated in 1858 to the office the Rev. William Cowper, D.D., who had been ordained in England as a colonial chaplain in 1809 and served a long ministry at St Philip's, Sydney, where he won the esteem of his people, as they showed by subscribing over £700 for their clergyman to visit England for treatment for serious eye trouble, from which he practically recovered. Dr Cowper was thus the first Australian archdeacon selected, in accord with ecclesiastical usage, by the bishop under whom he was to serve. He continued in office until his death in 1868, and lived to see his son, who had graduated at Oxford. Dean of Sydney and vicar-general of the diocese, who by his gentleness and goodness won the affection of all classes and schools of thought in the diocese.

The Bishop soon had the happiness he felt at the planting of a band of bishops greatly clouded by domestic sorrow. On the eve of St Bartholomew's Day, 1848, he was stricken by a severe attack of influenza. After more than a fortnight's illness a fatal ending to it was anticipated, but an improvement came and the patient passed the crisis, though his medical advisers gave the warning that his progress was slow, and it would be long before he could hope to do any work. All through the time of his sickness the most devoted of his nurses was the wife who had been the sunshine of his life. As the Bishop passed through his long convalescence he must have noticed that Mrs Broughton did not spend so long by his bedside, but upon being told that she had suffered a slight accident to an ankle he concluded that sufficiently explained the position. The fact was that the beloved wife had been smitten by erysipelas, which all unknown to her fond husband had reached a critical stage and ultimately had a fatal ending. It was decided that the Bishop must be told of the affliction that had come to him, and he bore it as

might be expected of such a great Christian. All Sydney showed deep sympathy. St James's Church was crowded for the obsequies, and the procession to the cemetery extended a quarter of a mile in length. Mrs Broughton was regarded as a high type of the cultivated religious English-woman.

CHAPTER XV

THE BISHOP AS A CHURCHMAN (P.A.M.)

BROUGHTON, both as archdeacon and bishop, was primarily concerned with the task, in itself almost overwhelming, of planting and extending, of administering and guiding the Church of England in the colony: almost overwhelming, because of the immense area to be covered and of the lack of resources both in funds and in clergy, under which he constantly laboured. But along with this, he found himself faced with another task almost as exacting and demanding other gifts than those of the pioneer builder, the task of maintaining and upholding the position of the Church of England, both in the eyes of her own members and in face of attacks prolonged and bitter from outside. Those other gifts, however, gifts of theological and historical scholarship, gifts too of clear-sighted courage and persistence, the Bishop proved himself to possess in abundant measure; and by their exercise at a critical juncture of history, and on the distant field of New South Wales, he rendered a signal service not only to the infant Church in the colony but to the Anglican communion as a whole.

The Bishop's convictions with regard to the position in Christendom of the Church of England are stated again and again in visitation addresses, sermons, and letters. He held that the Church of his baptism and his ordination was the truest embodiment to be found of primitive and scriptural Catholicism, and displayed "in doctrine and Constitution the

most accurate model that existed in the world of the primitive form of the Holy Catholic Church." Her peculiar character had been determined at the crucial epoch of the Reformation. It was then that, without denying or severing herself from her past, she had liberated herself from later Roman accretions in doctrine and practice, and had made the undivided Church of the early centuries the standard by which she would be guided in framing her constitution.

Foremost among those later and unwarranted accretions from which at the Reformation she had set herself free, was the doctrine of papal supremacy, and the conception of authority which it implied. In the light of history, Broughton repudiated the assertion that upon the Pope, as the successor of Peter, was bestowed a universal jurisdiction by divine right, and held rather that "the government of the Church was meant to be vested in a body of co-ordinate bishops (each keeping the truth within his own diocese) and not in a body of bishops all subordinate to one." "Where and what is that authority?" he wrote in reference to the same subject. "My own conviction is that it resides in the Church collective, the keeper and witness of the truth, having authority in controversies of faith, and that the organ for its administration is the Episcopate apostolically derived, and firmly exercising its proper powers."

The sentences just quoted appear in letters addressed to his friend Coleridge in September and December 1845. Coleridge appears to have written "of the growing impression that our Church is in a state of schism," with the implication that submission to Rome was the logical step to be taken on the part of those who held this view: and the Bishop's letters are of profound interest in view of events in England, and not least of Newman's secession to Rome at this very time. Yet neither this tragic step, nor the arguments upon which it was based, could move the Bishop, as it also failed to move Keble, Pusey, and many others, from his allegiance to

the Church of England or his belief in the unassailable character of her position. He gives careful historical evidence to prove that in reference to Roman claims, "there is no symptom of a universal headship *jure divino*," and asserts that Rome "cannot prove either the institution of supremacy or her own pretention to hold it if it were even instituted."

"The hope of the world," the Bishop maintained, "is still bound up with the cause of the Reformation, as it was undertaken and carried on within the Church of England."¹ The sermon in which these words occur was preached in St James's, Sydney, on Whitsunday, 1849, on the occasion of the Tercentenary of the first use of the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Edward VI, "a form of prayer, which, we may with admiration and gratitude contend, has done more than any other human composition whatever to cause the sound of the Gospel to go into all the earth."² On the same occasion he deprecated the "prevailing tendency to deviate on the one hand, no less than on the other, into dangerous extremes, forsaking that middle way in which a serious thoughtful spirit of piety, under the true guidance and teaching of the Church, would incline men to walk."³ It is indeed the term "middle way" which, in the view of the Bishop, provides the truest indication of the position of the Church of England. She stands in a central place between two extremes and has constantly to sustain her position as such against aggression from either side. "It has been," he said, "the hard lot of the Church of England, that she has had to contend, first for the reduction of the limits of belief to a correspondency with 'the foundations of many generations'; and, that object being effected, to sustain her moderate views against a spirit which would proceed to tear up the sacred foundations themselves, nor ever rest until every venerable and decent appendage of the Church should be

¹ W. Grant Broughton, D.D., *Sermons on the Church of England*, p. 58 (London, 1857).

² *ibid.*, p. 54.

³ *ibid.*, p. 58.

surrendered to the dominion of a rude self-will. It is still our arduous and anxious task to find the narrow middle way of truth and salvation, as it winds between the camps of encroaching and impatient adversaries who hem it in on every side."⁴ The Bishop's own prolonged battle for the rights of the Church, as he cherished them, against dissent on the one hand and Rome on the other, is a striking commentary on the truth of his contention. "Romanists on the one side," he wrote in September 1839, "and the Dissenters on the other allow me no rest: but their malignant abuse weighs little with me, and I hope not much with the respectable part of the community."

It was in the appeal to antiquity that the Bishop felt that the Church of England stood on unassailable ground. "The declared design of the Reformers of the Church of England," he said in a sermon, "was not to institute anything new, but to restore that which was most ancient and edifying in the form and order of the Church of Christ; that which was apostolical, that which was primitive, that which was catholic; abolishing whatsoever was merely Roman, the offspring of the papal system, and therefore comparatively modern." Preaching again at an Ordination Service in December 1842, the Bishop pleaded with those on whom he was about to lay hands not to allow themselves "to forget wherein its strength consists—in the superior antiquity of every doctrine which we admit, and in the comparative recency of those which, with a daring innovation upon the primitive faith, the modern Church of Rome has embodied in her creed. It may be fearlessly affirmed, that not one of those particular tenets—the tenets which we reject—can be traced higher than the fourth century, at the utmost; while every article of belief which, after most patient scrutiny, the English Church has retained as necessary to salvation, resting upon the testimony of Scripture, must be as old as the apos-

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 188.

tolie age. This is the true point of difference between the Churches."⁵

It was from this standpoint, that it was "of divine institution, and of apostolical derivation," that Broughton vindicated the ministry of the Church as retained in the Church of England. Implicitly, if not explicitly, that ministry rests, he maintained, on the purpose and action of Christ Himself, in His institution of the Apostolate and His promise to be with them always even unto the end of the world. The Bishop sees the functions of "governments, teachers, helps," in St Paul's enumeration, as perpetuated in the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons. He strongly upholds the retention of the term Priest and Priesthood against those who objected to its continuance in the Church on the alleged ground that "we neither have, nor pretend to have, any real sacrifice to offer," maintaining, as against this plea, that if the whole body of Christians may be termed "holy" and "a royal priesthood" in virtue of their offering of spiritual sacrifices, then "with a full and direct applicability may this title be transferred to those who minister in holy things under the Gospel covenant; who, in virtue of their office, stand forward to present before God the memorial of that one sufficient sacrifice which Christ once made, and of those spiritual sacrifices which the congregation offer, of themselves, their souls and bodies, unto Him."⁶

Similarly he vindicates the retention of episcopacy and episcopal government in the Church of England against those who denied it "scriptural foundation and apostolical authority." He explains how between the two terms elder and bishop, used by St Paul indifferently of the same officers of the Church, a differentiation came to be made, under which the latter came to be applied to those who in succession to the Apostles governed the Church. "For these reasons the title of apostle was abandoned; and that of

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 185f.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 175.

bishop, or overseer, was assumed, as distinctive of the single ruler of the Churches within a particular district, instead of being attributed in common to all elders, as it had been heretofore, while episcopal power continued to be vested in the apostles.”⁷

The Bishop was equally definite in his teaching of the Sacraments. “The whole system of the Sacraments,” he said, “rightly interpreted and understood, is the most powerful of all calls to holiness; while on the other hand it is the most awful and threatening of denunciations to those who live in the neglect, perversion, or corruption of these holy pledges.” In a sermon on the Sacrament of Baptism, preached on Whitsunday 1850, the very year in which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council gave judgment in the Gorham case, that the denial of baptismal regeneration was not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established, Broughton maintained that “in our baptism we were born of the Spirit,” that baptism carries with it “the heavenly gift of regeneration,”⁸ and is a means whereby we receive spiritual grace,” at the same time insisting on the need of renewal and sanctification, and the disciplined life which these involved, if the grace of baptism is to prove effective. Similarly he urges the importance of the regular reception of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. “We cannot more surely,” he said, “be made partakers of the salvation, which by His Cross and Passion He has thus purchased for us, than when we kneel in adoration before Him in that place, where, as His apostle says, ‘the bread which we break is the communion of His body; the cup which we bless is the communion of His blood.’”⁹

He lays stress, too, on the reality of the apostolical commission of the remission and retention of sins given by our Lord, as continued in the ministry of the Church, and presses, in face of objections, for the occasional use of pri-

⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 178f.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 94.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 115.

vate confession and absolution, as provided for in the Prayer Book, alongside the more general form. "It is said that the form, 'I absolve thee from all thy sins,' savours of arrogance. But why, if 'I absolve thee' be objectionable, is not 'I baptise thee' equally so? seeing that the one form denotes *admission* into the kingdom of heaven by an act of ministerial authority; and the other a *continuance* in it, dispensed by the like authority."¹⁰ And again, in the Ordination sermon from which the above quotation is taken, he pleads that "because some can dispense with the more direct and explicit absolution, the same is not, therefore, to be refused to trembling and desponding souls, who feel the burden of their sins, but cannot, though truly penitent, make application to themselves of the merits of a Saviour's righteousness."¹¹

Thus the Bishop was a strong champion of the Church of England and her liturgy, and brought the rich stores of his learning and devotion to her defence. He saw, however, very clearly that the real strength of the Church lay not so much in reasoned apology, as in the devotion of her priests and people, and in the full and regular use of the provision which she made for daily and weekly acts of worship, sober, dignified, and inspiring. He saw that the real danger to the Church lay in "the admission within her sanctuary, and the adoption into her general approval and practice, of those cold, meagre, unimpassioned views of piety—for feelings I cannot call them—by which her true character would be destroyed; the attractiveness of her sober fervency, and habitually-recurring exercises of devotion, being replaced by a chill, formal, unfrequent, and (it may be feared) reluctant compliance with her invitation to rejoice heartily in the strength of her salvation."¹² There were many souls who needed more than this to sustain their religious life, and who "miss among us those necessary aids and encouragements,"¹³

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 166.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 191.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 167.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 192.

and in default of finding them in the Church of England might well be tempted to seek them elsewhere.

In the Bishop's teaching as outlined above, his conception of the Church of England, in the purity of its doctrine and constitution, and in particular its appeal to apostolic antiquity, its adherence to a primitive scriptural standard of catholicism, in the view which he expresses as to its ministry, its divine institution and apostolic derivation, the importance which he attaches to the Sacraments, and the stress which he lays on loyalty in practice to the liturgical standards of the Prayer Book, we are irresistibly reminded of the teaching of the early Tractarians, and of the reawakening of the Church of England and her ministry to a new sense of her origin, character, and mission which was the purpose and achievement of the Tractarian Movement. It would indeed be not untrue to speak of the Bishop as himself a Tractarian, in his outlook and teaching. He had left England too early to come directly under the influence of the early leaders of the Oxford Movement. He had, however, as has been shown in an earlier chapter (XII), intimate friends who were in close sympathy with the Movement, and on his long visit to England in 1834-5 may well have watched at first hand its early beginnings. Certainly his teaching was in close accord with theirs and he had a warm regard for their work. In a charge to his clergy, delivered in St James's Church, Sydney, on 6 October 1841, he expresses "his thankfulness to those among ourselves who have ventured, at this crisis, to promulgate what I must consider the juster view of the nature of the ministerial function."

In a letter dated October 1837, he writes:

You mention Mr Newman's sermon. I have not seen it: for works of merit in that class come very rarely and slowly to these shores. But your introduction of his name reminds me to say that if I might make choice of my fellow-labourers, they should be from his school. They take, I think, the most just and comprehensive view of the true Constitution of our Church, and of its actual duties in

the present state of the world; and it is among the young men brought up in their principles that I should expect to find that temperate and professional ardour which appears to me the first requisite for a man's doing his duty well, and finding his chief support and reward in the consciousness of doing it.

In a later letter he mentions the fact that in writing to the Bishop of Calcutta, he had "taken some pains to remove some prejudices which he appeared to have imbibed against these writers."

But this, as he himself added, was "previous to Tract 90." He strongly felt that the attempt made in the final Tract, and Pusey's defence of the attempt, to reconcile the teaching of the Articles of the Church of England with the Tridentine affirmation of the Church of Rome was to embark upon "treacherous shallows." In particular he urged that the Roman doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass and of Purgatory could not be reconciled with, were indeed explicitly repudiated by, the formularies of the Church of England, and that any attempt to demonstrate their mutual consistency was so much false and special pleading. He foresaw the danger of such an approach to unity. "If we go much further," he wrote, "I fear we shall once more give occasion to the Romanists to exult as the Arians did in the former instance; and to circulate the news that the Anglican world has come over to their opinion." "We may have the Church of England or the Church of Rome," he added, "but the notion of a *tertium quid* which shall be of both and yet be neither, I cannot comprehend."

Yet, mistaken as he believed the Tractarians to have been in some of the later phases of their teaching, he pleaded with his friend not to "lose, through any hallucination into which the wisest and best may be betrayed, the fruit of all their previous labours in the cause of the Church. They have been the honoured instruments of re-edifying and restoring much of its beautiful and substantial carved work which

had been broken down by the axes and hammers of the adversaries which still roar in the midst of the congregations."

Some three to four years after the above words were written, the news reached the Bishop of Newman's secession to the Church of Rome, a step the blindness of which came home with special force to one so convinced as he of the apostolic and catholic character of the Church of England. "It is impossible," he wrote to Coleridge in January 1846, "to think very well of the discriminative powers of any one who knowing the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the history of the Church, and the doctrines of our own Communion, cannot discover in all these a sufficient warning against so great an error as that of the Roman Creed. Mr N. has of course still to attempt to justify what he has done; and whatever his talents and learning may be, he will fail in that, because facts are so decidedly opposed to him." A month earlier he had written in similar strain: "As to the justification of his secession, which you tell me he seeks in the assumption that the Reformation of the Church of England was an act of schism, I feel myself impelled to maintain upon the highest grounds that it was no such thing: neither could be for the plainest of reasons. To constitute it such, it must first be shewn that the Church of Rome was and is by divine appointment, the Mother and Mistress of all."

The issue between the Church of England and the Church of Rome was one of urgent interest to the Bishop, owing to current events in New South Wales. He writes to Coleridge in January 1846 of his conviction "from the occurrences of every day that here, upon the very spot whence I now write to you, will take place the most tremendous struggle, perhaps of all, between the opposing powers; and here the Reformation will have to be defended eminently and expressly according to our system, as opposed to one which is merely Protestant or Sectarian. It is for an effort of this sort that I gather myself up."

The following chapter will deal with the course of the

Bishop's controversy with Rome. It must, however, not be forgotten that, like Hooker two and a half centuries earlier, the Bishop was forced to fight a battle on two fronts. He had to defend the Church, not only against Roman aggression and attack, but also against a conception of the Reformation which was "merely Protestant and Sectarian." Attacks from this side came not only from those without but even from those of the Bishop's own household. Bitter attacks were launched against him in 1849 by two young Irish deacons, whom he had treated with the utmost consideration, and who charged him with being "a Popish bishop" and with identifying himself "with that party whose avowed object it is to un-Protestantise our Church." We have seen, however, that the Bishop's conception of the Church, taught with courage and persistence, armed him against the assaults not only of the "zealots of the Church of Rome," but those also of "the zealots of a wild excess of private judgment and the advocates of a contumacious self-will." Such attacks only inclined him, as he maintained, "to hope that I may through divine grace, be walking in the narrow path of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the nation, the Church of England: which as it declines from all excesses and extremes and observes the middle way of truth, must be exposed to hostility from those on either side."

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROMAN CONTROVERSY

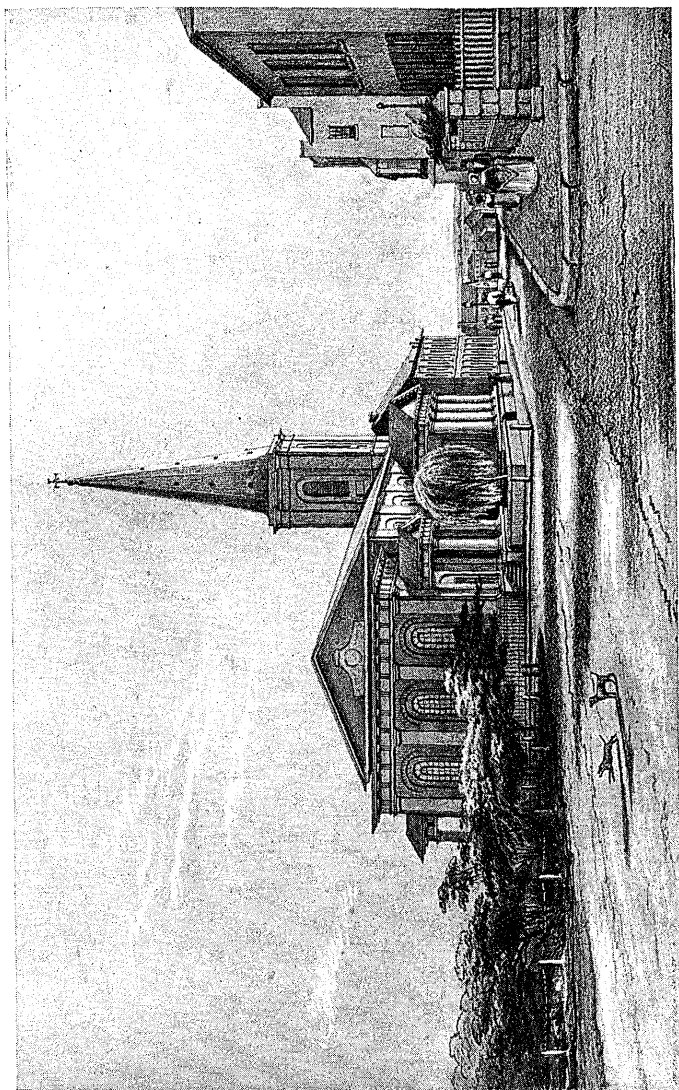
(P.A.M.)

THE address presented by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Bishop during his last visit to England and shortly before his death, included the declaration that "the Society has observed with real satisfaction the steady resistance which you have offered to the encroachments and usurpations of the Church of Rome. Your protest against the unwarrantable assumptions of that Church in the year 1843 is one in the necessity and far-seeing wisdom of which the Society entirely concurs." In his reply, the Bishop referred at some length to "that act of invasion and intrusion on the part of the Church of Rome, introducing its own Bishop into a See already full, and assuming for him a title derived from the territories of Her Majesty, without any reference whatever to Her Majesty's sanction and approval."

It was, as stated above, on the two grounds, as a breach both of ecclesiastical order and of civil law, that the Bishop made his spectacular protest in 1843 (to be narrated later) against the intrusion of an alien hierarchy into a province of the Catholic Church already governed by a territorial bishop and within the Queen's dominions. Nor was it only on behalf of the Church in his own diocese that, both then and throughout his episcopate, he resisted what he regarded as an unwarranted encroachment on the part of Rome. He feared that what had happened in New South Wales would happen on a larger scale elsewhere; and he acknowledged

that in the public protest which he had made, he had been actuated by the conviction that unless the act of usurpation were resisted and openly objected to, "the result of the success of such an experiment in a distant quarter would have been cited as a precedent to be repeated, as it has been repeated, on a wider circuit in the Church of England itself."

The story of the Bishop's controversy with Rome, and indeed with the Home Government over its attitude to Roman usurpation, goes back to the first years of his episcopate. As early as 1837, and again in 1839, he had found it necessary to remonstrate "against the reception by the Governor at his levee on the Queen's Birthday of Dr Polding, who styles himself 'John Bede, by the Grace of God and the appointment of the Holy See, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land.'" Dr Polding had not at that time adopted, or had conferred upon him, a territorial title derived from the sphere of his episcopal jurisdiction. He was titular bishop of Hiero-Caesarea. He claimed, however, and exercised episcopal authority in New South Wales, and he attended the Governor's levee in the habit and capacity of a bishop. It was to this that Bishop Broughton objected, on the ground that "such reception and recognition of a prelate appointed by the Holy See is contrary to the spirit and terms of the Oath of Supremacy, in which we are required to swear that 'no foreign prelate hath or ought to have jurisdiction within Her Majesty's realm.'" The Bishop's protest against this unauthorized and indeed, as he held, illegal act on the part of the Governor called forth an angry reply on the Roman side, and a publicly adopted resolution for transmission to Lord Normanby in England, and in favour of "removing the Protestant Bishop from his seat on the Legislative and Executive Councils." The Bishop himself wrote to consult eminent legal authority in England and expressed the hope that the matter would be brought before Parliament.



OLD ST JAMES'S, SYDNEY
From the original in the possession of Mr William Dixon.

Early in 1843 a much more aggressive step was taken by Rome. "You are aware, probably," wrote the Bishop to Joshua Watson, in February of that year, "that the Pope has recently erected Australasia into an archdiocese, and has elevated Dr Polding (who has been here several years as Bishop of Hiero-Caesarea and V.A.) to be the first Archbishop of Sydney: giving him Metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole of Australia, Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand: all in Her Majesty's Dominions, and having under him, as is stated, five suffragan bishops." Here was a step without precedent in modern history. "It was the first instance," so Broughton believed, "since the Reformation, of the Pope's having established a Metropolitan See within the realm of England with a title derived from a city within that realm;" and it raised for Bishop Broughton an issue of quite exceptional difficulty. He felt, as has already been said, that the act was a breach of both civil and ecclesiastical order. He had a right to turn not only to the Church but to the Government to support him in his remonstrance.

The Government, however, seemed wholly indifferent to the constitutional issue raised, and indeed to have decided it against the view which the Bishop so strongly held. He quotes a statement in a recent copy of *The Times*, announcing that "Lord Stanley in his official capacity of Secretary of State for the Colonies gave an audience by appointment at Knowsley on October 21st (1842) to one of the Bishops of Canada, and to 'His Grace the Most Reverend Dr Polding, Archbishop of Sydney and New South Wales, both of them being attired in their full State robes canonical of the Catholic Church' and were most graciously received by the noble lord." This act, so Broughton maintained, was tantamount to an official acknowledgment of the Pope's "jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and spiritual within Her Majesty's realm," contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, which formed an integral part of the constitution. The act of Lord Stanley amounted also to "countenancing an invasion of the pro-

vince of Canterbury within which there cannot be two lawful Archbishops at the same time."

The Bishop acknowledged that a recent event had raised a doubt in his mind as to the legitimacy of his remonstrance on the ground just quoted. In 1841 the Jerusalem bishopric had been established by Act of Parliament and by agreement with the King of Prussia. Here was a case of an Anglican bishop being apparently intruded into a foreign city, which itself was already the see of a bishop. Bishop Broughton felt confident, however, that there were "grounds upon which a distinction may be drawn between the cases," and proceeded to act upon the conclusions which he had reached.

"I shall," he writes, "most assuredly protest publicly as a Suffragan of Canterbury against what I consider a violation of the rights of my Metropolitan." The above words were written in February 1843; and on the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) in the following month, the Bishop made his formal and public protest, in St James's Church, standing on the north side of the altar, in the presence and with the assent of his clergy. The protest is of such historic interest and importance as to claim quotation in full:

In the name of God, Amen. We, William Grant, by divine permission Bishop and Ordinary Pastor of the Diocese of Australia do protest publicly and explicitly on behalf of ourselves and our successors, bishops of Australia, and on behalf of the Clergy and all the faithful of the same Church and Diocese, and also on behalf of William, by divine providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, and his successors, that the Bishop of Rome has not any right or authority, according to the laws of God, and the canonical order of the Church, to institute any episcopal or archi-episcopal see or sees within the limits of the Diocese of Australia and Province of Canterbury aforesaid. And we do hereby, publicly, explicitly and deliberately protest against, dissent from, and contradict, any and every act of episcopal or metropolitan authority done or to be done, at any time, or by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from assumed jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or

authority of the said Bishop of Rome, enabling him to institute any episcopal see or sees within the Diocese and Province hereinafore named.

The significance of the closing sentence of the protest is worth noting. The protest was not only intended to forestall and prevent similar action on a wider scale elsewhere on the part of Rome. It was also intended as a declaration on behalf of the Church of England of the invalidity of any episcopal acts, and particularly of ordination, done by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney: Broughton's firm persuasion being that "as they were solemnized by a bishop in a state of schism they were, according to every ecclesiastical principle, utterly null and void"; so much so that in the event of any priest of the Roman Catholic Church desiring to abandon that Church and exercise his ministry in the Church of England, the Bishop would have regarded it as his duty "as a guardian of the rights of the Church, to say that his ordination was null and void." The Bishop laid stress on this aspect of his protest in his reply, already cited, to the address to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1853, and expressed the hope that similar action would be taken by the Church in England where a Roman hierarchy with titles derived from English cities had been established three years earlier.

Two further occurrences added to Broughton's anxieties on this subject. At the end of 1847 Lord Grey, the Secretary of State, had dispatched a circular to the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Charles FitzRoy, relative to the rank to be accorded to prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in the colony. Under these instructions Dr Polding was given precedence as Archbishop over Broughton as Bishop at all official functions. The effect of the instruction, so it seemed to the Bishop and his clergy, was to deprive him of the rank in society which he had officially possessed since 1829 and "to transfer to the (Roman Catholic) Church that station which had hitherto been

possessed by the Church of England." Both Bishop and clergy felt it their duty, in face of this act, to absent themselves from the levee at Government House on the Queen's birthday.

The second of the two occurrences caused the Bishop the deepest personal distress. Early in 1848 two of his clergy, J. C. Makinson and R. K. Sconce, graduates of Cambridge and Oxford respectively, and the latter the priest in charge of St Andrew's Church, resigned their incumbencies with a declaration that they "considered it essential to their salvation to be in communion with the Holy See." Their resignation was followed by their public reception into the Church of Rome, following the renunciation of their baptism and ordination, and followed by their employment as teachers in Dr Polding's seminary. It was gratifying that the example of the two priests was in no case followed by the laity. The Bishop himself took charge of St Andrew's Church until the clamour raised by these secessions abated: and by a declaration made on 27 February, during a service in St Andrew's, he formally deposed the two clergy from the Orders of Deacon and Priest to which they had been admitted, at the same time seeking the concurrence of the remaining bishops of the province in the action so taken.

The intense interest and anxiety which the Roman controversy aroused is reflected in the pages of the *Sydney Guardian*, "A Journal of religious, literary, and scientific information under the superintendence of clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland," the first number of which appeared on 1 June 1848. Its monthly issues from then till 1850 contained article after article on the subject, articles, for example on "Idolatry or image-worship of the Church of Rome," "Worship of the Virgin Mary," "Satisfaction, Purgatory, and Indulgences," and "Infallibility." A course of fourteen lectures on the papal claim of supremacy, delivered by the Rev. R. Allwood, was published in

full; and in December 1849 a long prayer is quoted from one originally framed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and recommended for present use, "for the Queen, the Church, and the People of England, at a time when the face of the land is covered with the expelled soldiery of Loyola: when the pestilence of Roman corruption is advancing its ravages among both clergy and laity: when the councillors of the Queen are dallying with the Papacy, and plotting the national endowment of its hierarchy." The journal contains, too, an article of inordinate length in the form of a letter to R. K. Sconce, B.A., and in reply to his "reasons for submitting to the Catholic Church."

Meanwhile, the main scene of the controversy was transferred to England. Broughton's fears and anticipations proved only too well grounded. In a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1851, he recalled a prediction made eight years earlier, that "every encroachment upon the spiritual rights and character of the Church of England which shall have been connived at, and so encouraged, if not legalized, within the Colonies, will sooner or later be transplanted from there to England itself." And so it proved to be. Of the movement in England, Nicholas Wiseman was the leading figure on the Roman side. It was largely through his forceful and aggressive action that Roman Catholicism, from being represented by a scattered and obscure community, came to hold its head high in England. The secession to Rome of Newman and other former leaders in the Oxford Movement provided the occasion and emphasized the need of such action. If, as was confidently anticipated, the secession of the leaders was to be followed by that of the rank and file, there must be ready for them a spiritual home which they could be proud to enter, a fitting successor of the ancient Catholic Church in England.

Practical steps were rapidly taken in this direction. Hitherto the appointment of Vicars Apostolic had sufficed

for the administration of the Roman Catholic Church in England. Dr Wiseman, consecrated in 1840 by Gregory XVI, Bishop of Melipotamus and appointed President of Oscott College, himself became Vicar Apostolic in London in 1849. This was, however, only a first step in the direction of far more decisive action. Already in 1848 a question was addressed to the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, whether "he had heard of any project of the Pope to divide England into dioceses, and to appoint an Archbishop of Westminster." Lord John Russell replied that he had heard of no such project, and would "not give his assent to the formation of any such dioceses in the Queen's Dominion." Yet already at the close of the previous year an authoritative review had declared the Pope's intention of "erecting those ecclesiastical offices, heretofore tolerated under the modest and sufficient title of Vicars Apostolic, into the dignities of Archbishops and Bishops, not merely nominal, not *in partibus*, but of Pope-created dioceses, Bishops of Westminster and Birmingham."

And while the Government revealed its ignorance of and indifference to what was proceeding, the Pope acted. In July 1850 Dr Wiseman was summoned to Rome, was given a cardinal's hat, and was informed that he was to return to England as Archbishop of Westminster. Letters Apostolic were issued suppressing the existing vicariates and erecting in their stead a Metropolitan and twelve episcopal sees with territorial titles. A few days later a pastoral letter, signed Nicholas, Archbishop of Westminster and headed "*ex Porta Flaminia*" was published in England, in which the new cardinal spoke in grandiloquent terms of the restoration to England of a hierarchical government in communion with the See of Rome. The action so taken and the Cardinal's proclamation roused a storm of indignation in England. The No Popery cry was again raised throughout the land by Church, people and Government alike. The agitation was fed by the arrogant and contemptuous terms

in which, in pulpit and press, the Anglican Church and the significance of the papal action were described. The Government was driven into hurried and intemperate action. Early in 1851 the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, prohibiting the assumption of territorial titles derived from the Queen's dominions by an alien hierarchy, became law in spite of the opposition of Gladstone, Bright, and other leading statesmen. From the first, however, the action proved a dead letter. The territorial titles conferred by the Pope were openly used by Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops, and the act itself was repealed by Gladstone in 1871.

Meanwhile the news of the papal aggression and of the erection of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England had reached Australia. It was referred to at some length in his visitation address to the clergy by the Bishop of Tasmania in May 1851. The apathy of the Home Government in the matter was animadverted upon in strong terms. "Civil authorities in England," said Bishop Nixon, "have long and knowingly allowed the law to be set aside, and the Sovereign's prerogatives to be trampled under foot by the Pope, throughout the colonial dominions. In vain have colonial bishops remonstrated, in vain have they by open protest, and by official communications, called the attention of the advisers of the Crown to the dangerous precedent thus established." And in view of the precedent having now been followed and adopted on a larger scale in England, he added: "We pause now to see whether Her Majesty's advisers will deem it needful to step forth, and prove their own hearty recognition of the existing law, and to vindicate the insult that has been offered, not to the Sovereign only, but to the whole Protestant people of England."

Two months earlier a representative meeting of churchmen, under the presidency of Bishop Broughton, had been held in Sydney, and resolutions were carried reaffirming the terms of the Bishop's public protest of 1843, and expressing "alarm and indignation" at "the recent assumption

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by the Pope of authority to divide the territory of England into ecclesiastical sees; and at his sole jurisdiction to nominate bishops and archbishops to exercise spiritual jurisdiction within the realm." The resolutions were to be transmitted through the Governor to the Secretary of State, and by the Bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury: and in a covering letter addressed to the latter, Broughton expressed the earliest hope that no distinction would be made between the colonies and England in such measures as might be taken to counteract what he regarded as an unwarranted intrusion on the rights both of Church and State. He saw very clearly that much harm would be done by any measure "which would virtually separate the Church of England into two sections," and which "while it prohibited by law an invasion of the soil of England itself, should pass over its occurrence in all other portions of the Empire, and so leave them without equal protection from the state." Rome would be only too ready to take advantage of such inconsistency and weakness. Concession to Roman aggression in the colonies would only lead to the demand "to enact upon the more conspicuous theatre of England, that which they had been, with England's own approval, rehearsing upon the narrower stage of the colonies."

Bishop Broughton thus found himself forced to act as the spearhead of the whole Anglican communion in repelling Roman Catholic aggression, and in repudiating, in the name both of the Church and the State, the intrusion of a Roman Catholic hierarchy into sees within Her Majesty's dominions, and already occupied by duly constituted bishops. His own diocese was chosen as the first scene of such aggressive action, a circumstance which gave to his handling of the issue a special and typical importance; and we have seen that he did not fail in either vigour or clarity of judgment in the action which he took. The erection of rival sees within the Queen's dominions was, however, not the only act of Roman aggression which had to be met. A vigorous

attack was also launched on the supposed Erastian character of the Church of England and its uncatholic and unspiritual subservience to the State. Here too it was Bishop Broughton upon whom the attack fell, though it was in reality directed towards "a higher quarry," the evident intention being to "thrust" through him "an additional javelin into the already too much stricken side of the Church of England."

It was therefore Broughton upon whom devolved the task of returning an effective answer to the charges made. In December 1850 he addressed a long letter to the Right Reverend Nicholas Wiseman, D.D., in reply to a sermon which the latter, recently appointed, as we have seen, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, had preached and published, and in which he had commented upon Bishop Broughton's ecclesiastical position as affected by the terms of the Queen's letters patent by and under which the Metropolitan See, which he occupied, was constituted. Extracts from the sermon which had come under the Bishop's notice show that the Cardinal had dilated upon the topic of the "supremacy of the Crown of England as it affects the independence of the Episcopal office, and assumes a prerogative of dictating the conditions according to which the functions, even the spiritual functions, of the episcopate shall be exercised." The letters patent issued in 1836 by the Crown constituting the See of Australia, and nominating Broughton as first bishop of the new see, were, as we have seen, the documentary evidence upon which the attack was based, interpreted as "binding the Church to nothing short of an Erastian surrender of her inherent spiritual privileges into the hands of the Crown."

In his spirited reply given in the form of an open letter to Cardinal Wiseman, Broughton dwelt on the true significance of the royal supremacy as it affected the rightful liberties of the Church. When the reformers declared that "the Bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction in this realm of England," they were faced with the necessity of trans-

ferring elsewhere the authority which had in fact been hitherto exercised by the Pope. That authority they declared rested in the National Church as a whole. Hence its exercise devolved on the Sovereign "as the representative and agent of the National Church."

It may be questioned, the Bishop admitted, whether in the action so taken they "did sufficiently consider, or were even in a position sufficiently to consider, the extent to which the prerogatives heretofore vested in the Pope might now be beneficially vested in The Crown." Yet the principle on which they acted was entirely right. "They felt . . . that the subjects of every independent Christian state form collectively a national church, qualified and entitled to manage and direct its own spiritual concerns, without interference on the part of any foreign power, whether person, prelate, state, or potentate." So long as the nation and the national church were convertible terms, it was right too that supremacy in causes ecclesiastical should be vested in the King, as Defender of the Faith and "the organ and representative of the Church." It was true that the representative character of the Crown had been diminished and impaired by "that wilful spirit which has divided the nation and cast out unity from the Church." Cardinal Wiseman might, however, rest assured that, harmful and regrettable though these dissensions were, the English Church would not purchase deliverance from them by surrender to the supremacy of the Pope.

It was not, however, the royal supremacy in its historical origin, but as identified with an authority which through the issue of letters patent "establishes bishoprics, names bishops, and bestows upon them their spiritual privileges" to which Cardinal Wiseman pointed as proof positive of the hopelessly Erastian character of the Church of England. In his reply to this charge, Bishop Broughton acknowledged that both in 1829, when he was nominated archdeacon, and again in 1836 when he was elevated to the episcopate, he

had given very careful consideration to the implications of his appointment under letters patent, particularly in view of the altered character of the Crown, as representing the Church, which had been effected by the Catholic Emancipation Act, passed in 1829, and the repeal of the Test and Corporations Acts effected in 1828. He had, however, come to the conclusion that this legislation had not so far impaired the traditional relation between Church and Crown as no longer to "justify the Church in continuing a party to such engagements with the Crown," and that in particular there was no danger of the use of its supremacy by the Crown "for the purpose of thwarting, oppressing, or injuring the Colonial Church." There was, therefore, nothing in his mind contrary or prejudicial to the spiritual liberties of the Church in admitting the right of the Crown, "always acting in correspondence with the Church, and representatively on behalf of its lay members," to establish bishoprics and to name bishops.

Cardinal Wiseman had, however, asserted that in virtue of the royal supremacy the Crown claimed not only to establish bishoprics and to nominate bishops, powers which Bishop Broughton asserted should be exercised without prejudice to the Church's liberties, but also to "make men bishops" and to "bestow upon them their spiritual privileges." If this authority was indeed claimed or exercised by the Crown, it would be a conclusive proof of the Erastian subjection of the Church to the State. It was, however, manifestly untrue, as indeed the words of the letters patent themselves made plain, had Cardinal Wiseman chosen to quote them in full. The King might nominate, but the person nominated could only exercise his episcopal office by right of consecration, and consecration lay not with the Crown but with the Archbishop of Canterbury and his fellow bishops. Moreover, if "the person nominated was one in the opinion of the Archbishop unfit for the office, he could refuse to consecrate him." And once consecrated a bishop's

spiritual privileges were his, not by right of royal bestowal but by right of consecration. All that the Crown could do or claim to do was to delimit the sphere within which his episcopal office should be exercised. The Cardinal had seized on the words in the letters patent, "We thereby further give and grant to the said William Grant Broughton and his successors, Bishops of Australia, full power and authority to confirm those who are baptized and come to years of discretion." The words, as so read in isolation, seemed indeed to corroborate the Cardinal's charge "to the great shame and scandal of the recreant Church of England." But their significance as so interpreted was wholly altered if regard were paid to the words that followed, viz., "within the limits of the said See of Australia, but not elsewhere."

It was thus evident, so Bishop Broughton maintained, that "the only authority in contemplation, which it could be intended or pretended to confer upon the bishop, was liberty to exercise, within a particular district called the Diocese of Australia, a faculty which, in virtue of his episcopal consecration, he already possessed."

The letters patent issued later under which the Diocese of Australia was divided and the See of Sydney constituted were also misquoted by the Roman Catholic prelate, and were represented as embodying the terms under which "the Queen makes the bishop resign, in other words deposes him, then divides his diocese into several." The gross absurdity of this charge, indeed the deliberate falsehood which it contained, was manifest enough: a charge intended to prove the Church of England to be "in a state of servile dependence on the mere will of the secular authority." In reply to this charge, Broughton gives a succinct account of the steps from 1845 onwards which had led to the division of his former diocese and the establishment of the Sees of Melbourne, Newcastle, and Sydney. The facts so narrated prove to the hilt that so far from the division being an arbitrary act on the part of the Crown, the initiation

of the proposal, and the various steps, by which it was carried to completion, came entirely from the Bishop himself: and if further testimony to the story as so narrated was necessary, it was provided by a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury dated 30 March 1847, and addressed to Broughton, in which the Archbishop referred in the highest terms to Broughton's initiative and energy in this matter.

Broughton had thus no difficulty in refuting the charges of Erastianism levelled at the Church of England, as evidenced by the terms of his own appointment and the later division of his diocese. At the same time he did not disguise the fact that under the altered conditions of the time there were dangers to which the Church was exposed by the continuance of the royal supremacy and particularly by its exercise in the affairs of the Colonial Churches. But this danger, and the consequent possibility of the abolition of the royal supremacy in reference to the Church, did not mean that the Church would substitute the supremacy of the See of Rome for that of the Crown of England. The Church would find other means of asserting "its own inherent supremacy, neither admitting the secular element to assume to itself an influence, by the weight of which it is enabled to paralyse the spiritual . . . nor yet (as has been the case in Rome during many centuries) suffering the ecclesiastical authority to exclude the secular from all right of interference in the regulation of church affairs."

The letter concluded with a reference to the conference of Australasian bishops held two months earlier in Sydney, a conference the summoning of which was largely due to the need of vesting the inherent supremacy of the Church elsewhere than in the Crown, in so far as the supremacy of the latter had proved, or was likely to prove, unduly restrictive to the rights and liberties of the Church. In these deliberations, so Broughton acknowledged, the Bishop had been "fully, even painfully conscious of the restraints

imposed upon our free declaration of the true doctrine of the Church, by the supremacy of the Crown." They had however sought a remedy for this restraint, not in a reversion to papal supremacy but by the assertion of the Church's inherent self-governing power and by the recommendation of the erection of appropriate organs for the exercise of those powers. The outcome of the discussion had been the framing of the formal request "that the bishops and clergy should be allowed freely to meet in provincial and diocesan synods, for the discussion and decision of all questions pertaining to the doctrinal and spiritual training of the Church: and that the laity, being communicants, duly elected, and empowered by their respective congregations, should simultaneously sit in conventions of their own, for the settlement of all the temporalities." Here asserted Broughton, was "a form of judicature which was not the creature of the State," but was "rational, practicable, scriptural and catholic." The acceptance of these proposals as the basis of the constitution of the Church might indeed "leave to the Crown but the shadow of supremacy over the Church in the Colonies." It would however secure "the true supremacy of the Church over itself," and it would finally dispose of "the false supremacy of the papal see, which by absorbing within itself the just and natural privileges of clergy and people, enslaves both."

CHAPTER XVII

THE 1850 CONFERENCE AND AFTER (P.A.M.)

THE convening and assembling of the Conference of the Bishops, six in all, of his province in 1850, when considered in conjunction with its results, was the crowning event of Broughton's career. The conference itself and its outcome bulk largely in the Bishop's correspondence during the last two and a half years of his life. He was mainly preoccupied during that period with the task of giving effect to the resolutions of the conference, and particularly to those which dealt with the government and polity of the Church and its appropriate organs. It was the pressing need of securing a satisfactory conclusion to this all-important issue which impelled him to undertake a voyage to England in 1852: and it was his premature death in England early in the following year which alone prevented him from rebuilding on new and better foundations the constitutional structure of the Church in his diocese, upon which he had bestowed so much thought, study and labour.

"The Metropolitan and Bishops of the Province of Australasia" assembled in "the metropolitan city of Sydney" on 1 October 1850, and remained in session during the whole of that month. The conference passed unnoticed in the daily Press of the time: and naturally so: for the discussions were wholly private. Notices of sermons to be preached by the visiting bishops in the Sydney churches appear in the contemporary columns of the *Sydney Morning Herald*; and, as described elsewhere, much space was given

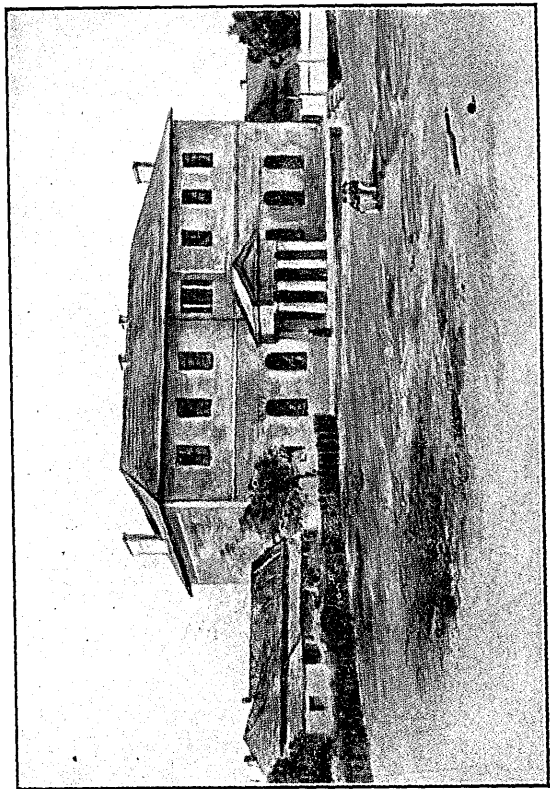
in this journal to the public meeting held on 29 October for the formal establishment of the Australasian Board of Missions. But of the conference of bishops nothing is said. Resolutions on a wide variety of subjects were carried at the conference, and were embodied in a report drawn up by the Bishop of Newcastle (Tyrrell), who acted by request as secretary of the conference, for publication and for transmission to "the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland."

The bishops assembled expressly deprecated for their gathering the title and powers of a synod, "in consequence of doubts existing how far we are inhibited by the Queen's supremacy from exercising the powers of an ecclesiastical synod."¹ They met in conference under the presidency of the Bishop of Sydney "to consult together," so the report states, "upon the various difficulties in which we are at present placed by the doubtful application to the Church in this province of the ecclesiastical laws, which are now in force in England; and to suggest such measures as may seem to be most suitable for removing our present embarrassment; to consider such questions as affect the progress of true religion, and the preservation of ecclesiastical order in the several dioceses of this province; and finally, in reliance in Divine Providence to adopt plans for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races in Australasia, and the adjacent islands of the Western Pacific."²

The published minutes of the conference throw an interesting light on the problems, whether of local or of more general interest, with which the Church in Australia and New Zealand was at the time faced. First in importance, as we have already noted, are those paragraphs of the Report which deal with the polity of the Church, with questions of clerical status, of lay and clerical discipline, and of the need of synods and conventions, provincial and diocesan, as providing the only satisfactory and constitu-

¹ *Minutes of Proceedings.*

² *ibid.*



THE KING'S SCHOOL, PARRAMATTA, IN 1850

tional substitute for the existing arbitrary powers with which the Bishops were invested. For the present we pass by this subject, to which we shall be devoting considerable attention, in order to emphasize the importance at the time of other resolutions carried by the conference. The resolutions were in every case but one signed by the six bishops participating in the conference. The exception was that on Holy Baptism, with reference to which Bishop Perry of Melbourne dissociated himself from his brethren and issued a separate signed statement. That this issue should have been raised at the conference was rendered inevitable by the circumstances of the time. "It was impossible," says a writer in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* in June 1851, "for a synod of bishops to meet, under existing circumstances, and with the recent promulgation of the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and not make some declaration in reference to the point of doctrine so strangely evaded, obscured, and finally misjudged of in that notorious decision."³

The "point of doctrine" in question was that of the regeneration of infants in baptism as taught by the Church of England: and the "notorious decision" referred to was that which had recently been made by the final Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes which, reversing a previous judgment given in the Court of Arches, had upheld as "not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established," the view maintained by the Rev. G. C. Gorham, viz., that "the Church did not intend her language to be construed absolutely and unconditionally, but to be regarded as only conditional, hypothetical, charitable, and hopeful." With this view Bishop Perry heartily concurred, as one which might legitimately be held and asserted by accredited teachers of the Church of England, and the authoritative exclusion of which might

³ *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. iv, pp. 444-5.

well have rent the Church in twain. On the other hand the five bishops who issued the majority statement repudiated the Gorham doctrine and asserted the objective efficacy of the Sacrament as against an exclusive insistence upon the subjective qualifications "of our own personal repentance and faith" which Bishop Perry emphasized.

The subject was, as we have seen, a burning ecclesiastical issue at the time: and its repercussion reached to the most distant of the Queen's dominions. But, for this very reason, it was highly unfortunate that there was open dissent upon it within the episcopal body and that the pronouncement upon it made by the conference was not unanimous. A cleavage of opinion between the bishops on a question so keenly debated could only serve to perplex the minds of the laity, and to afford a ground of reproach against the Church of England on the part of those who disowned, or were prepared to disown, her allegiance. And yet perhaps the view of the contemporary writer already quoted is the best commentary on the importance of this cleavage of view and statement. "That this decision should not have been quite unanimous," he says, "and that one prelate should have preferred to state in his own language his views of the doctrine under discussion, we cannot wonder at, nor is it with us a cause of much concern." "The statement of the Bishop of Melbourne," the writer adds, "so very nearly coincides with that of his brethren, and where it does not coincide, is to our minds so difficult to reconcile with the verities which he admits and subscribes, that we feel the truth is not seriously endangered in his hands."⁴

Section VII of the Report, under the title "Liturgy," provided useful directions to the clergy in the conduct of public worship and kindred matters. The regulations are evidence of a rigid adherence to the letter of the Prayer Book, but also of the need of some modifications to meet local difficulties. The recognized morning service of the time included

⁴ *Ibid.*

Morning Prayer, Litany, and Holy Communion. With a view, however, as is obvious, to bush conditions, the stress of travel and the necessity of conducting services at such times and places as were practicable, the bishops permitted the separate use of one or other of the three divisions, provided that "each of the services used should be read entire." The same need lay behind the provision that the Communion Service might be used, and the Lord's Supper administered "at an early hour" or, "in the afternoon if necessity so required." And in the same section careful regulations are laid down as to the celebration of marriages, and the opinion is given that clergy of the Church of England "ought not to solemnize marriages between persons neither of whom is of our own communion, except in cases where the marriage cannot, without extreme difficulty, be solemnised in any other way."

In Section IX dealing with Education, the bishops welcomed the proposed establishment of the University of Sydney, and expressed their willingness to encourage students in church colleges and schools to compete in public university examinations. Yet in evident fear of the effects of the secular character of the proposed university on the student mind, they deprecated any "University system which might have the effect of withdrawing from our own collegiate rule the students educated in our separate diocesan institution." Again the bishops dissociated themselves from any recognition of schools, established under the recently formed boards, in so far as such recognition might be regarded as countenancing a system of "erroneous defective and indefinite religious instruction." It is not difficult to see the hand of Bishop Broughton in these provisions. We have traced the course of the battle which he fought for religious education as provided by the Church of England and for the maintenance of church schools, in which the full doctrine of that Church could be taught; and we have noted the resistance which he offered to a system of government-owned

and controlled schools, in which the religious teaching given would be of a vague, undenominational character.

It is, however, those sections of the Report (III-VI) which deal with the proposed establishment of a constitution for the Church in the dioceses of Australia and New Zealand, and with questions of discipline, status, and church membership, which have proved of most fundamental importance. It is these sections which make the Report a memorable document in its bearing on the history of the Anglican communion. It was the testing and implementing of the opinions expressed in these sections which proved the main concern of the bishops who had met in conference, during the years which immediately followed it. Indeed the history of which these recommendations were the first chapter is still being made in the yet unfinished task of providing the Church in Australia with a constitution adequate to its needs and to its place in the Commonwealth and in the Church as a whole.

We are concerned with the conference and the course of events which emerged from it mainly as they bear on the subject of this memoir. It is however impossible to isolate Bishop Broughton and his work in this sphere from the main stream of events. His story is the story of the time. He was, as Metropolitan, the chairman of the conference. There is little doubt that as such he largely guided its deliberations to the conclusions reached: and he took a leading part in the course of action which followed the conference, although, as events proved, the bishops and dioceses concerned, instead of agreeing, as Broughton hoped they would agree, on a common course of procedure, took their severally independent lines of action and adopted different methods of carrying into practice the recommendations of the conference, leaving Broughton and Tyrrell, whose dioceses of Sydney and Newcastle were within the one colony of New South Wales, as the only bishops who acted throughout in co-operation with each other in the matter.

Sections V and VI of the Report, dealing with "Discipline" and "Status of Clergy" respectively, illustrate the legal and other difficulties with which the early Colonial Church, both in Australasia and elsewhere was confronted, and for which the proposals of Section III, dealing with "Future Synods and Conventions, Provincial and Diocesan," were intended to provide a remedy. These difficulties were concerned in the first instance with the legal status of the clergy, a status which left questions of security of tenure in benefices held and of clerical discipline at the sole and arbitrary discretion of the bishop. Incumbents to benefices were appointed directly by the bishop, and appointments made on the bishop's sole authority could, by that same authority, be revoked. There was no parson's freehold under the existing regime. Moreover the clergy held their cures of souls solely at the bishop's pleasure. Nor could the bishop, even if he would, establish an ecclesiastical court for the trial of clerical offences. He had no weapon at his disposal in dealing with such, except that of the withdrawing of the licence previously conferred. Moreover, such disciplinary powers as he possessed were his, not by consent of his clergy, nor were they exercised with their co-operation. They were derived from his letters patent issued by royal authority, and determining the nature and limits of the authority over his clergy which the bishop could exercise.

The status of the clergy as so determined had a double disadvantage. It left them in a relation of wrongful dependence on the goodwill of the bishop. In practice, doubtless, bishop and clergy worked together on a basis of mutual confidence; yet the exclusion of the clergy from any voice in the administration of the Church, particularly as it concerned their own status, could not fail to engender a feeling of insecurity and dependence inimical to the interests of the Church. There was a danger of its vindicating the pungent saying of "Bishop Broughton's rebellious deacon," that

"the clergy are divided between the sycophants and the opponents of the bishop." It acted too as a deterrent to clergy of high capacity in England from offering themselves for service in the colonies.

But if the position so constituted was resented by the clergy, it was disliked even more by the bishops themselves. They felt themselves placed by their letters patent in a false position of arbitrary authority, which yet they could not disown or repudiate. The bishop, with inquiry, judgment, and sentence in his sole hands must always, as Bishop Tyrrell pointed out, "be subject to the charge of acting in a despotic, autocratic manner." The hope which he expressed, based on a trying experience, would have been voiced equally by his fellow bishops, "that he might never again be obliged to attempt to carry out any case of discipline by the unsatisfactory protest of a powerless commission." Bishop Selwyn, of New Zealand, similarly asserted his conviction that "the episcopal authority would really be more effective if it were in each case restrained by the superior authority of a synod," and expressed the hope of being "able to make arrangements for divesting himself of his present absolute power;" and Bishop Gray, of Capetown, spoke in even stronger terms of the overwhelming burden of personal responsibility which he was compelled to carry owing to the arbitrary and absolute nature of the authority conferred upon him by his letters patent.

In their report (Section V) the bishops asserted that "in consequence of statements which have been made . . . of the arbitrary power possessed by bishops to suspend or revoke at their own discretion the licences of clergymen, we disclaim all wish to exercise any such power";⁵ and they went on to recommend a course of constitutional procedure which would free them from the burden of a despotic authority, the possession and exercise of which they were

⁵ *Minutes of Proceedings.*

the first to resent. They recommended that "In all cases of doctrinal error, or other ecclesiastical offences . . . the diocesan synod should be the court for the trial of a presbyter or deacon," and that "No clergyman who shall have been duly appointed and licensed to any church or permanent cure of souls, should be removable therefrom, except by sentence pronounced, after judicial inquiry before the diocesan synod."⁶

It was thus suggested that questions of clerical discipline, and in particular the trial of clerical offences and the imposition of penalties of deprivation by sentence given, should be taken out of the sole hands of the bishop, and placed in the hands of the bishop and clergy, or chosen representatives of the clergy, of the diocese concerned, acting as a duly constituted synod. It was indeed one of the main proposals of the bishops that the Catholic and primitive institution of a synod, both provincial and diocesan, should be revived as the only means of solving "many questions of great importance to the well-being of the Church in our province." The legal and other difficulties which stood in the way of re-establishing the synod will be considered when we trace the course of events which followed the conference. Here, however, it is important to note that by the synod and bishops meant an assembly of bishop or bishops and clergy only, and not one in which lay representatives formed an integral element. It was not of course that they wished to exclude the laity from the councils of the Church. Full provision, as we shall see, was made for lay representation in church government. It was rather that they adopted the term "synod" in its traditional sense as an assembly of those of the clerical estate. We shall note, too, the strong emphasis which Bishop Broughton at any rate laid upon the rights of a properly constituted body, consisting of bishops and clergy, for the discussion and determination of matters which were particularly the concern of the clergy.

⁶ *ibid.*

At the same time it was not anticipated that doctrinal issues would come within the purview of the proposed synod, except in so far as they might be called upon to act as an ecclesiastical court for the trial of cases of doctrinal error. It was far from the desire of the bishops to claim for the proposed synods the power "to alter the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, or the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures." To these maintained in their integrity and accepted by common consent, Broughton looked as a main bond of unity between the Mother Church and the daughter Churches in the colonies or elsewhere, a bond which both Broughton and his fellow bishops again and again declared their solemn intention to maintain intact. No authority, Broughton asserted, was competent to touch them except a council representative of the whole Church. There were, however, many matters "of practice and ecclesiastical order" upon which such synods might be qualified to consult and agree: exercising the power of making rules on such subjects and conducting "the processes necessary for carrying such rules into effect." It was thus mainly in matters of practical administration that the proposed synods were to assist the bishops, removing such matters from their sole authority and making them matters of joint consultation, determination, and action on the part of bishops and clergy acting in conjunction.

Even more far-reaching, however, in its apparent novelty and even revolutionary character, than the establishment of synods of bishops and clergy was the further proposal "that the laity acting by their representatives duly elected should meet in diocesan and provincial Conventions simultaneously with the diocesan and provincial synods."⁷ In this case too it was in part the difficulties of exercising discipline with respect to the laity which forced to the front the proposals just quoted. It was "practically impossible in these times," says a voluminous but lucid writer in the *Colonial Church*

⁷ *Ibid.*

Chronicle of the time, "to maintain discipline or to exclude from the Communion of the Church those who are not fairly members of it, either on account of heresy or evil life, unless the laity are made to combine in some orderly way in their legislative arrangements."⁸ Moreover, experience had increasingly convinced the bishops that particularly in new and democratically inclined countries the Church could not grow and flourish, and elicit the active support of its people, unless the laity were fully represented in the conciliar authorities of the Church. They, too, like the clergy, must share with the bishop the task of the control and management of church affairs. It was not however the intention of the bishops that the proposed conventions of the laity should form an integral element of the synod, which as we have seen was to consist of bishop and clergy only. The conventions were to sit "simultaneously with the diocesan and provincial synods," but as a separate house, debating and resolving independently those matters "affecting the temporalities of the Church" which were properly the concern of its lay members.

The Report does not state what range of subjects was intended to be covered by the term "temporalities." It seems, however, obvious from Broughton's own comments that it was intended to include all matters, not merely financial, affecting the welfare and good government of the Church, with the exception of those of a more immediately spiritual nature which were the proper sphere of the clerical synod. Nor, so far as the language of the Report goes, is it made clear whether it was intended that synod and convention should always sit separately, or as seems obvious in the later declarations of Broughton and others, that the two bodies should normally sit and debate as one House on matters of joint concern, voting however as separate Houses. Yet the phrase "severally consult" would seem to point to the fact that at the time of the conference at least, the bishops con-

⁸ *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. iv, p. 257.

templated two Assemblies sitting separately and simultaneously, though often debating the same subjects. This conclusion seems also borne out by the provision "that no act of either order . . . should be valid without the consent of the other."

Such then were the main recommendations of the Report issued by the bishops as the outcome of their conference: and we shall deal in due course with the result of the conference and the steps which were taken by Broughton to carry into effect those provisions of the Report which concerned the bishops' suggestions as to the establishment of synods and lay conventions. It may, however, be well at this stage to set in clearer relief the fundamental issue at stake in these recommendations. Difficulties of discipline, clerical or lay, were only one outstanding example of the anomalous position in which the early Colonial Church was placed. The anomaly consisted of the fact that while the Colonial Church was nominally bound by the ecclesiastical laws in force in England, those laws could in many cases not be administered in the colonies. They were laws applicable to a Church "as by law established." They depended for their efficacy on the peculiar relations to the State in which the Church in England stood. In a colony however in which, to use Lord Grey's words in 1848, "the English Church was no more established than the Roman Catholic Church," there were no means of enforcing those laws. The position, at least so far as it concerned episcopal discipline, was well stated in the following words: "The exact state of the grievance appears to be this. By the patents under which the several colonial bishops were appointed to their sees all the laws and ordinances affecting the Church and the clergy at Home were extended to the Church and clergy abroad. The bishops were empowered to hear witnesses, and to exercise their ordinary episcopal power in their own courts. But on the very first occasion of their powers being put to the test they were disputed; and on reference being made

to the highest legal authorities at home, it was determined that in granting those powers the Crown had exceeded its authority. They were, therefore, withdrawn from all subsequent patents." Such was the impotence to which the bishops of the Church in the colonies were reduced through the fact that the latter had no position of privilege in connexion with the State, such as was possessed by the Church in England.

At the same time the Church in the colonies was debarred by its nominal subjection to the ecclesiastical laws of England from taking any practical steps to organize itself on a voluntary basis and from adopting a constitution and laws of its own. The rigid restrictions imposed by law in England on the convening of ecclesiastical assemblies and on the discussion and adoption of rules and regulations for the good government of the Church were, it seemed apparent, also binding in the colonies: and any attempts on the part of the Church there to establish synods vested with legislative authority, and to exercise through them the right of regulating its own affairs, might well, it seemed, bring the bishops and clergy into conflict with the Queen's supremacy and the acts in which it was embodied,⁹ and render them liable to legal penalties. "The great complaint seems to be," wrote Broughton to the Archbishop of Canterbury in December 1851, "that through the operation of the Royal Supremacy we are reduced to a state of absolute inaction as to the internal regulation of our own church affairs, inasmuch that neither can any single bishop within his own diocese, nor all the bishops of the Province in conference assembled, take a single step in any measure of discipline or improvement with any assurance that his or their acts have the force of law," or, as he might have added, would not bring him and them into conflict with the law.

Thus the Colonial Church was left "in the unhappy con-

⁹ "By that statute of 1534 (25 Henry viii, c. 19) convocation was forbidden to make any canons or ordinances without the King's consent to do so."—F. W. Warre Cornish, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, pt ii, p. 25 (London, 1910).

dition of possessing neither the substantial advantages of an established, nor the compensating freedom of a voluntary church."¹⁰ "It was," adds the same writer, "fettered and crippled. It has all the encumbrances of an establishment with none of its benefits. It has thrust upon it the self-dependence of an English dissenting body, without its freedom of action." The extent and limits of episcopal authority, and the mode of its exercise, were defined in the letters patent issued by the Crown. Yet the bishop could not fall back on the Crown or on the civil courts to enforce the disciplinary action taken under the authority so conferred: and it became increasingly obvious that the authority so given not only, as we have seen, vitiated the relations of mutual confidence and co-operation which should exist between bishop and clergy, but that it could not be validly exercised at all in a colony possessing its own legislature. The decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the *Long v. Capetown* case in 1863 that, letters patent were "ineffectual to create any jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil, within the Colony," and in the *Colenso* case three years later that "the letters patent of the Crown cannot confer ecclesiastical jurisdiction in a colony or settlement which is possessed of an independent legislature" only brought to a final head what had become increasingly apparent, viz., that the authority nominally conferred by the Crown under letters patent had completely broken down and must be replaced by an authority defined and conferred not by an external civil power but by the Church itself.

It remained then for the Church to reorganize itself on a voluntary basis, to establish its own legislative and judicial organs, and through them to regulate its own affairs. "If it [the Colonial Church]," says a writer of the time, "can be shown to enjoy no especial or exclusive privilege, what plea exists for refusing, or even grudging to the Church, the assembly, or conference, or synod, for the regu-

¹⁰ *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. vi, p. 282.

lation and management of its own affairs, which is possessed by other communions standing in precisely the same relation to the State?"¹¹ "All that we demand," adds the same writer, "is liberty for the bishop, clergy, and laity of each diocese to meet together in authorized assemblies, to take into consideration from time to time the affairs of that diocese; and so to adopt measures for supplying the needs and correcting the abuses of the Church." Yet just at this point, as we have seen, another set of difficulties arose: and the Church cut off from the authority conferred by the State, found itself, by the restrictions which the State imposed, debarred from establishing a constitutional authority of its own. It seemed indeed to Broughton that there were formidable, if not insuperable, difficulties of a legal character, and the outcome of Tudor legislation by the English Parliament, which effectually thwarted any freedom of action in this direction. Something will be said later of these difficulties. The event showed that they were more apparent than real, and that in practice there was nothing to prevent the Church in the colonies from taking matters into its own hands and establishing its own organs of government precisely as if those difficulties did not exist. In any case, whatever the difficulties might be, the whole trend of events pointed to the urgent necessity of furnishing the Church with constitutional organs providing for and regulating the co-operation of clergy and laity with the bishops in the government of the Church: and such was the form taken by the recommendations agreed upon by the bishops at the 1850 conference.

The report of the proceedings at the conference was forwarded to the ecclesiastical authorities in England, and a reply, dated 15 July 1851, was received by Broughton from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Archbishop recognized the difficulties under which the Colonial Church laboured owing to "the uncertain jurisdiction of the bishop, and the consequent imperfection of

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 281.

discipline," but maintained that the Queen's supremacy which "must be assumed as unquestionable," effectually prevented "the issuing of any synodical mandate, or even the assembling of any synod which should claim authority." He pressed the importance of the clear formulation of their needs and demands on the part of the bishops of the Colonial Church, "with especial view to the inconveniences which you experience in the practical enforcement of discipline." Such a "specific scheme" he thought might be submitted to "the Colonial Secretary and the ecclesiastical officers of the Crown," who might be asked to prepare a legislative measure "such as would place you in a better condition for the right administration of church discipline."

The comments of both Bishop Broughton and Bishop Tyrrell on the Archbishop's reply are extant. Neither of them found it satisfactory. It implied, if it did not express, disapproval of the Australasian bishops' proceedings at the conference. It showed, in their judgment, little appreciation of the real scope of their difficulties, regarding them as concerned solely with discipline. Nor in Broughton's opinion was the Colonial Office assisted by the ecclesiastical officers of the Crown, the authority to whose opinion the demands and difficulties of the Colonial Church should, in the first instance, be submitted. He felt that a matter affecting the Church should first come before the authorities of the Church at Home, and in his reply to the Archbishop urged "that the Church here would certainly desire any measures affecting their ecclesiastical condition to be debated in an assembly in which Your Grace and the other prelates of the English Bench should form a part." In a later letter to the Archbishop, dated March 1852, Broughton outlined what he regarded as the most practicable scheme for gaining the relief needed by the Colonial Church. He had meantime resolved to convene his clergy and to consult both representatives of the laity and them, on the constitutional issues raised in the conference report, with a view to securing

their support for a petition to the Queen "seeking a removal of those obstacles which are supposed to subsist against synodical assembly of the bishops and clergy of the diocese."

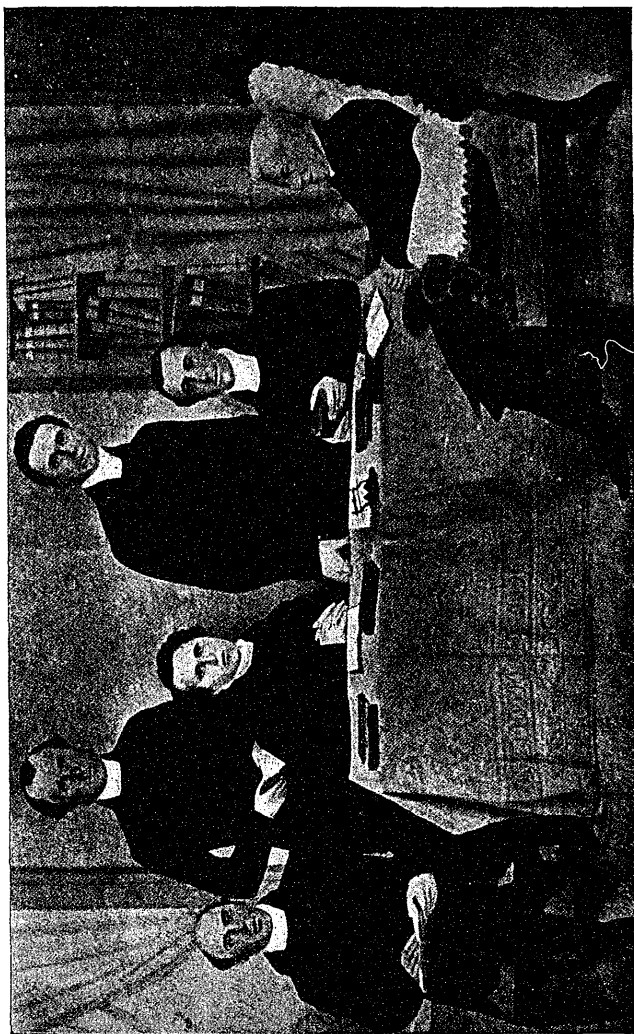
He hoped, moreover, that the action eventually taken would not be limited in its scope to his own diocese or even to the province to which he was Metropolitan. He foresaw the danger of disunion and of "incurable differences" which would arise if each diocese went its own way in the framing of its constitution. He had, too, been increasingly impressed by the extent to which similar demands as to the justice and necessity of reviving the synodical powers of the Church were being urged on the part of widely scattered churches of the Anglican Communion. The same need and the same remedy as had been pressed from Australia was also urged in Canada and in South Africa. It had found expression, too, in "the now prevailing deliberations in England for restoring Convocation to activity,"¹² a movement which he hoped would aim not only at reviving the Assembly of the episcopal and clerical Houses, but also at establishing in connexion with them "a House of Lay Representatives." Such a revived and reformed assembly in England might well, he thought, provide a model which would be adopted by the Colonial Churches. The policy which he advocated was "that all these separate efforts should be brought to combine in one endeavour to obtain an identity of organisation and government for the English portion of the Reformed Episcopal Church within Her Majesty's Dominions." Indeed he hoped that not only the Colonial, but the Scottish and American Churches might also be organized on the same model. "Only let it be provided," he wrote, "that the synods and lay conventions of the colonial dioceses shall, at it were, revolve around the central primary body of the

¹² Convocation had been prorogued in 1717, and after some years of remonstrance and agitation met again for the transaction of business in February 1855. See *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, pt II, ch. II.

English Convocation, deriving light from that source and retained in their proper orbits by its attraction, and regulated by its influence, and the greatest good will be attained." Such a union of Churches throughout the world "holding the principles of the English Reformation" might, he thought, be employed "to counterbalance that false and factitious system whereby the Church of Rome misleads all nations."

The Bishop's vision of a "confederation of episcopal churches, all agreeing in one form of doctrine, using the same Liturgy, and the same translation of Scripture, and . . . regulated each under their proper bishop, by synods and conventions (provincial and diocesan) all framed according to the same model," was not destined to be fulfilled in the way which he conceived was most desirable, viz., by common action and the acceptance of a draft constitution alike, not in detail, but in outline, by all the colonial dioceses. Even within his own province the dioceses went their own way, framed their constitutions, and secured recognition for them along widely differing lines. So, too, with other episcopal Churches both within and without the Queen's dominions. Yet however independent and separate the action taken by dioceses and provinces in the framing of their constitutions, the actual result has proved to be much as Broughton aimed at and desired: and in the Anglican communion, combining freedom of self-government with a genuine coherence and unity in its various provincial and regional Churches, and with its own common organ of mutual consultation, there has grown up rather than been consciously built, that "confederation of episcopal Churches" on which the Bishop's mind and heart were set.

But meanwhile he had to deal with that part of the wider confederation with which he was immediately concerned. He hoped that at least so far as the Church in Australia was concerned the dioceses would agree on a common statement of their constitutional needs, which could then be pre-



THE SIX BISHOPS AT THE 1850 CONFERENCE

(Bishop Short: Adelaide. Bishop Selwyn: New Zealand. Bishop Nixon: Tasmania.
Bishop Tyrrell: Newcastle. Bishop Perry: Melbourne. Bishop Broughton, Sydney.)

sented for the consideration of the authorities at Home. He hoped, too, that if it should seem desirable that he should proceed to England to present the case so framed, he would go as the recognized representative of the whole province, and not of his own diocese or colony only. In these hopes, however, he was destined to be disappointed. The dioceses proceeded to take independent action. The Bishop of Melbourne convened a conference of clergy and laity in June 1851 to discuss the question of "the expediency and mode of organizing diocesan synods and conventions." The conference sat for a fortnight and passed resolutions in favour of the establishment of a representative church assembly: and Perry defended the action so taken against the criticism expressed by Broughton, that he had shown "a spirit of independency and separation" in not consulting his Metropolitan before taking such a step.

Similarly the Bishop found fault with the disposition "to sit in judgment upon us and upon our conclusions exhibited in Adelaide and Hobart Town," and with the suggested constitution for the government of the Church which had been proposed by the Bishop of Adelaide as involving "almost a total departure from the catholic principle of primitive episcopacy." Similarly independent action was taken in New Zealand.

The course of events thus abundantly justified Bishop Tyrrell in his conviction that "any attempt to unite the six dioceses of the province in one form, or under one code of church laws and regulations, will be labour lost." "The united action," he added, "of the Church in this province would seem to be a matter of great and real difficulty": and if the bishops, as proved to be the case, acted independently in shaping the constitutions of their respective dioceses, it would naturally follow that there would be unwillingness on the part of the five bishops "to allow the sixth to be considered as proctor or representative of the province" in any representations made at Home, and that

if the Metropolitan went to England he would go to speak the mind, not of the whole province, but of two of its dioceses only, Sydney and Newcastle.

Even under this limitation, however, the Bishop saw very clearly that it might be necessary for him to proceed to England in order to be in touch with the authorities, lay and ecclesiastical, at Home, who would be charged with the handling of the question remitted to them from many quarters by the Church in the colonies, and to keep them informed of the difficulties, legal and constitutional, with which the Church overseas was faced. He determined, however, to leave the decision on the matter in the hands of his clergy whom he purposed to call into consultation with himself, early in 1852, on the recommendations of the 1850 conference, particularly with regard to the formation of synods and conventions of the laity.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT (P.A.M.)

THE conference of the Bishop with his clergy, long planned and long delayed, eventually met on 14 April 1852, in the schoolroom of St Andrew's Cathedral Church. Two questions only were submitted to the meeting for consideration, viz., whether the clergy were in favour of establishing a constitution for the Church, and what steps should be taken to effect this, especially as it related to the place which the laity were to take in the councils of the Church. The address delivered by the Bishop on this occasion,¹ extending in its published form to twenty closely printed pages, consisted mainly of a plea urged with restraint and moderation yet with masterly skill, advocating the recommendations of the bishops at the 1850 conference, that the laity should be associated in each diocese with the bishop and clergy in the responsible government of the Church. "We have," he said, "but one object in view, that of introducing the laity in an elective convention to undertake, in conjunction with the bishop and clergy, that superintendence of the ordinary and current affairs of the Church as to its internal management, which the force of circumstances no longer suffers the Sovereign, as head of the Church, to administer." The principle or the fiction of the Sovereign as the representative of the lay element in the government of the Church

¹ The address is reported in full in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 April 1852.

had broken down under colonial conditions. "The Sovereign neither does nor can interfere in the direction of the concerns of a colonial church." At the same time the laity in the colonies were themselves, it appeared, largely debarred from taking that "part in church affairs which becomes their intimate relation to the body." Hence it was right and expedient that "the Church should in all humility petition that liberty may be granted her to exert her inherent powers in those particulars wherein the State now ceases or declines to act." Moreover, however new, and even revolutionary, the proposed step might seem, all they asked was that they might "return as nearly as possible to the primitive rule in matters ecclesiastical." He adduced scriptural evidence to show that the laity enjoyed a share, if a strictly limited one, in the government of the primitive Church. The task assigned to them in early times was that of "ratifying by their consent every judgment in religious questions." It was now, however, proposed to extend this very limited privilege by making it necessary that "such judgment cannot become a law without their ratification."² "The Bishops have proposed," he added, "that neither their own order, nor the order of the clergy, nor both united, should be competent to decree any fresh formulary of faith or doctrine, order or discipline ecclesiastical, to be conclusively binding on the Church, unless it be accepted and ratified by the consenting vote of the lay convention."

Thus the object of Broughton and his fellow bishops who had met in conference had been "simply to secure the great principle of giving the laity a voice, and a due share of influence in the management of church affairs." There were at present anomalies of discipline and govern-

² For the principle underlying this provision see Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk viii, ch. vi (London, 1867). "Till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most consonant with equity and reason, that no ecclesiastical law be made in a Christian commonwealth, without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy."

ment in the Church which could not be rectified "without the consent of the laity," to whom furthermore it was prepared to accord a representative place in the councils of the Church. They were to sit in conventions "simultaneously" with the synods. It was anticipated by the bishops, said Broughton, that "as a general rule the clerical synod and lay convention should sit and deliberate as the members of one body." Yet there were occasions on which it was desirable that the two houses should sit and deliberate separately. There were questions "so obviously spiritual," that the clergy had a right "in virtue of their office, to consult among themselves exclusively upon them." Similarly there were matters "so closely touching upon pecuniary interests" as to make it appropriate that they should be considered exclusively by the laity.

On this point the Bishop was adamant in his insistence. His "deep and settled conviction was that Christ established as a rule of the Gospel ministry that it was essentially separate from the lay portion of the Church." To obliterate this distinction would be, he maintained, "to destroy the form and substance of Christianity." The clergy were the "appointed teachers of the laity," and if they surrendered the right and duty of framing "their instructions separately from those who were to receive them," they would be "tearing off the seal of Ordination," and "abandoning the lot from which they derived their title." Nor would he for worlds "be the first bishop in the Church of England to give his assent" to the proposal that the clergy should never sit separately. The laity must be prepared "to allow that there may be, and must be, some cases in which they cannot be properly or lawfully associated with the consultation of the clergy." In a letter to Canon Allwood, written the day before the conference met, it was on this point that the Bishop laid most stress. Allwood had apparently pressed for the amalgamation of clergy and laity in one House for all purposes of deliberation and voting; and Broughton

warns him of so revolutionary a step, and insists on the need of maintaining for the clergy "the privilege of meeting separately for discussion, if they should think the welfare of the Church demanded it." He pointed out that the clergy were excluded from the House of Commons on the assumption that "they have a different class of interests to attend to, and ought therefore to sit and debate in an assembly of their own." He believed that the separation between the functions of clergy and laity was a fundamental principle of the Church, and nothing would induce him to compromise it "unless the Church of England by a general determination should declare the contrary."

Equally insistent was the Bishop on the retention in the bishop's hands of the power of veto on all church legislation. He shrank from the ultra-democratic course taken, he understood, in this respect by the Episcopal Church in America in "the regulation that in a diocesan synod the bishops should sit, not as a distinct estate or order, having a controlling voice, but simply as a chairman of a meeting, having but a casting vote." This was an arrangement, he maintained, which "presents an idea of the office of a bishop, which, it is scarcely necessary to say . . . the Church of England has never accepted, the primitive churches never contemplated, and the Scriptures do not recognize." That, in the legislative assemblies of the Church the bishop constituted a separate House and that no measure should be regarded as carried unless it had received his separate assent, was a principle not only rooted in the traditions of the Church but one, the expediency of which has been more than abundantly justified by the test of experience.

We have dwelt at some length on the Bishop's addresses at this important conference, both that delivered at its opening and that given at the adjourned meeting on the following day. The latter was followed by a debate in which a number of the clergy took part, and which was fully

reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the following day. The two main resolutions were moved by the Rev. R. Allwood, incumbent of St James's Church, and after considerable discussion were carried, the one dealing with the place of the laity in the future constitution of the Church by twenty-nine votes to eighteen, the other approving of the form of petition to the Queen by thirty-five votes to eight. In subsequent private letters the Bishop gives his own impressions of the discussion. In the formal notice issued early in March convening the conference he had impressed on the clergy the need of attending it equipped, as fully as possible, with materials for forming a well-considered judgment on the issues on which their decision was to be asked: and he had requested them with this end in view to summon meetings of their parishioners, at which they would bring under consideration the two papers which were later to be submitted to the conference, the one a declaration to be signed by the bishop and clergy, approving of the proposal to establish a synod and convention of lay representatives for the Diocese of Sydney and to present to Her Majesty the Queen a petition praying for the removal by royal grant or by legislation of such legal obstacles as existed to the holding of such synods and conventions, and the other the actual form of the petition to be presented.

The Bishop was disappointed with the response made to this request. Those who attended the vestry meetings failed to understand the question at stake and raised a variety of side issues and factious objections, and this mainly because the clergy themselves had not taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the facts and proposals and so to be prepared to give the necessary guidance. "With the exception of Mr Allwood, and perhaps one or two more, I really believe that they had not bestowed all of them together a good half hour's thoughtful attention upon the subject since our Minutes were circulated." So wrote the Bishop to Tyrrell a month after the conference. Within the con-

ference, so the Bishop said, opposition came from two sides, those who were opposed to any introduction of the lay element into the government of the Church, and those who advocated the admission of the laity to a share in all determinations on church matters, thus "obliterating all distinction between them and the clergy." There was also the Irish element which opposed for the sake of opposition. Fortunately, however, these groups were so divided among themselves that they failed to unite in opposition, and came over separately to vote in favour of the petition to Her Majesty.

The action so taken by the Bishop and clergy was not however allowed to pass without protest from without the conference. It aroused fears of clerical presumption in the minds of the conservative laity. Protests³ were made and published in the Press, only differing from each other in the degree of ignorance which they betrayed of the real nature of the Bishop's proposals: and at a representative meeting of laymen held just a month after the conference of clergy, a resolution was unanimously carried in favour of a counter petition to the Queen praying her to withhold her consent to the petition adopted by the clergy, and declaring that the petitioners "most firmly protest against the establishment by law of any system of church government in which the bishops, clergy, and laity shall not meet and vote in one council, with equal and concurrent authority and jurisdiction, reserving to Your Majesty all the authority vested in Your Majesty as the Head of the Church." The petition as thus framed ran counter to a principle on adherence to which, as we have seen, the Bishop laid the greatest stress, viz., that provision should be made for the clergy to sit and debate separately from the laity on any matter of

³ One such protest included the assertion that "if Legislative authority be given to enforce ecclesiastical discipline, either by fine, imprisonment, or other corporal punishment, to any one Church, such legal authority would be to the imminent peril of civil and religious liberty in general."

special concern to them: and in a subsequent letter commenting on these proceedings Broughton alluded to the lay petition as one which seeks "to elevate the laity to an equality of authority and jurisdiction with the bishops and clergy in all matters whatsoever, temporal or spiritual, connected with the Church," and as thus containing "monstrous proposals" such as "would have subordinated and overthrown the Church of England altogether." There was some ground as we shall see for the Bishop's apprehension, even if the event has not fully justified it.

The result of the conference in April brought the Bishop to a definite decision to visit England in connexion with the constitutional issue thus raised. For long he had hesitated as to the need or advisability of this course. As late as March he had written to Coleridge that he feared that he would be too late to influence the course of proceedings in England, even if he sailed immediately, in view of the possibility of the bill proposed by Gladstone "for conferring on the Australasian Churches the privileges we have asked for" becoming law before his arrival. This however he thought unlikely: and he increasingly saw that his own presence in England would be of marked value in securing a satisfactory legal and legislative settlement of the matter, a settlement which would not be applicable to this or that diocese only, but would "tie together in one fellowship the entire Reformed Episcopal Church." So he determined to go, and in May was already discussing with the Bishop of Newcastle the ship and route by which he would travel. In the same letter he also outlined the course of proceedings which he proposed to follow on his arrival in England. These were the proposed successive steps which he hoped would be taken:

1. He would first go to the Archbishop whose opposition to the introduction of a lay element in the councils of the Church he hoped to overcome, and with his assistance would gain access to Lord Grey, the Secretary of State.

2. Through the latter he hoped to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission, including "a certain number of bishops and clergy, with a competent proportion of laymen, consisting of some lawyers, common and ecclesiastical, to examine into and report on the application." He hoped thus to secure a weighty body of opinion as to "the principles which must be admitted and acted upon in proposing the framework of a constitution for the entire colonial Church."

3. The Report of the Commission would in due course be laid before the Queen.

4. The Queen would be requested to appoint a sub-commission in each colonial diocese "for the purpose of reviewing the proposed constitution as recommended by the head Commission in England, and adapting it to the circumstances of the particular diocese for which that sub-commission is acting."

5. The Report of such sub-commissions, after approval by the clergy and laity in each diocese, would be returned to England "for the approval and ratification of the Queen in the exercise of Her Supremacy."

6. Application would then be made to the Colonial Legislative Councils to give effect to the provisions of the Constitutions regarded in the same light as the by-laws of any other body corporate."

The Bishop eventually sailed, as narrated elsewhere,⁴ on 16 August. In a farewell address to his clergy on the eve of his departure he explained that his main purpose in undertaking the journey was "to solicit in the proper quarter the removal of those restrictions by which our Church is at present inhibited from the free exercise of those faculties of self-guidance with which she was originally endowed: that there might no longer exist any obstacle to the meeting of the bishops, clergy, and laity in a lawful assembly, to consult and make regulations for the better management of

⁴ See Chapter XX.

the affairs of the Church within this diocese.”⁵ Those restrictions he believed could only be removed by parliamentary authority in England or by the personal intervention of the Queen. To take direct action in the establishment of a legislative assembly for the Church without such sanction would, he believed, be illegal and a contravention of the oaths which both he and his clergy had taken. This belief, that royal sanction or an enabling act of parliament was required to establish the legality of the action contemplated, was generally held both in ecclesiastical and political circles. The same need which drew the Bishop of Sydney to England impelled other colonial bishops to take a similar course: and Broughton hoped to confer not only with English authority but with fellow bishops from overseas who had arranged their visits to England to coincide with his. We have seen that the Bishop had not only his own diocese in view, or those in Australia, in his hopes for the future. He hoped to see the establishment of “one uniform system . . . throughout all the colonial churches (uniform I mean as to all its vital and essential observances) whereby they may be bound together in one great system of unity,” an object which would be greatly facilitated by opportunities of personal consultation with bishops from other overseas dioceses.

The event was to prove that Broughton was able to carry out only a fraction of the plan in its successive stages which he had proposed to himself. He landed in England on 20 November 1852, and died on 20 February 1853. He had interviews in December on the subject which had brought him to England with the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishop of London, and with Gladstone. He wrote also of a “convention of colonial bishops” which was to be held in January with the express approval of the Archbishop, to be followed by a further conference with the Archbishop himself. Illness and death, however, prevented any decisive results from being reached. Broughton was

⁵ *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. vi, p. 221.

the acknowledged leader in the cause and, his leadership once removed, efforts for combined action on the part of the colonial episcopate fell increasingly into abeyance.

The initiative, however, in constitutional reform had not rested only with the Colonial Church and its bishops. Their cause had aroused increasing interest in England. Already in 1850 the question of the position of the Church in the colonies had been opened in both Houses of Parliament. A preliminary attempt was made in that year by Gladstone in the House of Commons and by the Bishop of Oxford in the House of Lords to remove the difficulties under which the Church in the colonies laboured. Their action took the form of "a resolution providing that when members of the Church of England, bishops, clergy, and laity, assembled together, and by consent laid down rules for their internal government, it should be impossible for persons who had consented to those rules, afterwards to appeal against them to courts at Home." The attempt so made was unsuccessful, but elicited from Lord Grey the admission that "a case for enquiry had been made out."

In 1852 Gladstone went further, and brought in a bill alluded to by Broughton in the farewell address to his clergy already referred to, as one providing "that in each of the colonial dioceses named in the bill, or to be hereafter included by the authority of Her Majesty, it shall be lawful for the clergy and laity, under suitable regulations, and with the assent of the bishop, to frame such regulations as by the concurrence of all shall be deemed most salutary and conducive to the welfare of the Church."⁶ The Bishop welcomed the fact that, so far as his information went, the proposed bill was in agreement with the recommendations of the Bishops' Conference of 1850, viz. "to extend to the laity of the Church a degree of active influence, which from

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 221.

the outset they have never possessed directly, and perhaps hardly indirectly, in the management of its affairs.”⁷

Actually the bill in question,⁸ of the introduction of which in the House of Commons Broughton had already received information before he sailed for England, was one enabling the bishop, clergy, and representative laity in the colonial dioceses to meet together from time to time “to make . . . any such regulations as local circumstances shall in their judgment render necessary for the better conduct of their ecclesiastical affairs,” and exempting them from the provision of any “statute law, rule or other authority” which might be construed as prohibiting such action. Appended to the main enabling clause of the bill were a number of limiting or safeguarding clauses framed mainly to secure the supremacy of the Queen in the appointment of bishops, and the due subordination of the bishops, clergy, and laity to the See of Canterbury.

Gladstone failed to secure the passage of his bill through the House of Commons. His action was however followed in the next year, 1853, by a similar measure, the Colonial Church Regulation Bill,⁹ which was introduced in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner), and which in that House passed its third reading in July. In the case of this bill, the purpose of which was “to enable the bishops, clergy, and laity of the United Church of England and Ireland in Her Majesty’s colonial and foreign possessions to provide for the regulation of the affairs of the said Church in such possessions,” the provisions and restrictions appended to the main clause were even more detailed and specific than in the case of the previous bill. Elaborate regulations were provided for the election of lay representatives to the synods or assemblies of the dioceses concerned: and it was ruled that the votes of clergy and laity must be taken separately, and that no resolution could be valid

⁷ *ibid.* ⁸ For the terms of the bill see *ibid.*, pp. 68-70.

⁹ See *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. vii, p. 55-6.

unless it had been approved by a majority of both Houses and had received the assent of the bishop.

It was further provided that "a copy of the regulations passed at the first Assembly (in each case) . . . or later alterations in them should be sent by the bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that the latter within six months of the receipt of them should submit them with observations for the consideration of Her Majesty in Council," and "Her Majesty, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, may allow or disallow the same as to Her Majesty, with such advice, shall seem fit."

It was thus obviously intended in the proposed act to maintain the active exercise of the supremacy of the Crown with reference to the Church in the colonies, so far at least as under colonial conditions was possible. Indeed the whole bill was couched in terms which sought to provide that while the Church in the colonial dioceses was to be freed for the management of its own affairs, yet the bond uniting that Church to the Church at Home and to the Crown should be maintained by express statutory provision.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's bill met the same fate as that of Gladstone when it was taken from the House of Lords to the House of Commons. In some quarters it was viewed with groundless suspicion as an attempt to obtain for the Church of England exclusive rights and privileges, and to enhance the authority of the bishops at the expense of the clergy. The main reason for its rejection, however, seems to have been a reluctance on the part of the Church at Home and its loyal members "to interfere or seem to interfere by any act of the Imperial Legislature with the Church's position in the distant provinces of the Empire." The article in the *Melbourne Church of England Messenger*, from which the above quotation is made, is an outspoken expression of the standpoint of the Church in the colonies. It showed from the actual terms of the bill how groundless were the suspicions that it had encountered, particularly

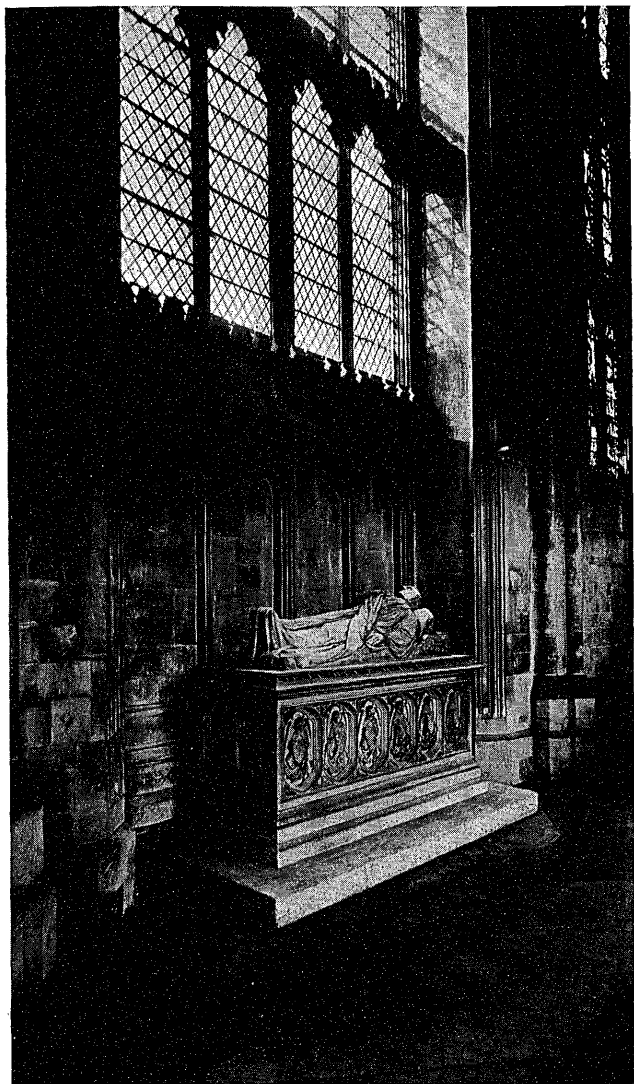
with regard to the charge of an attempt to increase the arbitrary authority of the bishops. It expressed the view, which it believed the bill also reflected, "that the present despotic power of Colonial Bishops should be taken away, and a much diminished and duly regulated authority be conferred in its stead; because we believe that such a limitation of episcopal authority would be greatly beneficial to the Church, and would remove an objection which many excellent clergymen now feel to emigrate."

In view, however, of the rejection of the bill the article goes on to face the question, "What ought the members of the Church of England in this colony to do?" and it gives the unhesitating answer: "Let them act as if it had passed . . . let them hold an assembly of the clergy and lay representatives elected according to the provisions of the bill; and let this assembly proceed to make such regulations for the management of all the local affairs of the Church and adopt such measures for giving effect to these regulations as they shall deem expedient." This counsel was in effect the inevitable outcome of three years of careful thought and experiment. Throughout that period the assumption underlying all discussion of the question at issue had been that the Colonial Church could not move in the matter of providing constitutional means for the regulation of its affairs without the authority of Parliament and Crown in England: and various avenues had been explored, and action taken to secure that authority. Yet neither Crown nor Parliament would intervene in the matter to resolve those difficulties or to confer the required authority. Hence the Colonial Church was thrown back on its own resources and compelled to take action on its own authority without reference to the Imperial Government at Home.

Yet it was equally clear that the colonial dioceses could not revert, for purposes of church government, to the coercive jurisdiction conferred by letters patent. It was not, it is true, till 1866 that letters patent prescribing the sphere

and limits of episcopal jurisdiction ceased to be issued, and not till 1873 that the Imperial Government formally resolved that they should no longer be issued. We have seen that the authority which they conferred, and the mode of its exercise, were irksome to clergy and laity, and perhaps most of all to the bishops themselves. Moreover, in the years following the death of Bishop Broughton, the authority which letters patent purported to confer on the bishops of colonial dioceses was invalidated by a series of important Privy Council judgments. But while these judgments thus ended the regime of letters patent, they expressly laid upon the Colonial Church the task of setting its own house in order in its own way. They declared that the Church of England in the colonies, as a non-established Church, stood on precisely the same level as any other religious body, and that "its members may adopt, as the members of any other Communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them."

It still remained, however, for the Church in the colonies, including Australia, to decide what form local action could take in default of recourse to the Imperial authorities at Home, and particularly after the failure of Archbishop Sumner's bill to secure the approval of Parliament. More especially it had to be decided whether and to what extent recourse should be had to the local state legislatures in order to secure the legal and constitutional character of the organs, legislative and judicial, for self-government which the different dioceses were in process of erecting. The course of action eventually adopted in New South Wales and in other Australian colonies takes us some years beyond the death of the subject of this memoir: yet it will not be out of place to add a brief and summary account of this creative epoch of ecclesiastical history, if only as revealing the outlines of the constitutional structure of which Broughton had done so much to lay the foundation.



BROUGHTON'S TOMB IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Two main possibilities lay open to the bishops concerned and their advisers, either to secure the sanction of the state legislatures to the proposed constitutions, whether in detail or in the form of a general enabling bill, or to act by consensual compact without reference to the civil authorities of the State except in so far as this was necessary to secure the property of the Church. Of bishops and dioceses in Australia, which adopted the former course, Melbourne was the first and most outstanding example, and Adelaide of those which adopted the latter. Bishop Perry was throughout a convinced advocate of the necessity of legislative sanction for the proposed constitution of his diocese. Even before the colony of Victoria was separated from New South Wales and obtained a legislature of its own, the Bishop had promoted bills on patronage and discipline in the Legislative Council in Sydney, the hostile and critical attitude of which, however, compelled their withdrawal. Failure in this effort was followed in June 1851, by a conference of bishops, clergy, and laity which resolved in favour of organizing diocesan synods and conventions. Three years later, in June 1854, a similar conference was convened to consider a draft constitution and bill which had in the meantime been prepared by the Bishop's legal advisers. The draft was carried by a large majority, and in November of that year the Church Constitution Bill was placed on the statute book of the colony. The Bishop then proceeded to England early in 1855 in order to secure the royal assent to the act, but in view of difficulties and objections which he there encountered, he left England on his return journey in April 1856, with his object still unattained. The assent of the Queen was, however, given after he had sailed and Victoria thus represents an early example of a colony in which the sanction of the local legislature, followed by the royal assent, was obtained for the constitution of the Church."¹⁰

¹⁰ Rev. Geo. Goodman, *The Church in Victoria during the Episcopate of Bishop Perry*, pp. 221f.

As against Bishop Perry's insistence on the necessity of legislative sanction for the constitution of the diocese, Bishop Short, of Adelaide, was an equally strong and consistent advocate of the method of consensual compact. The views which he held were expressed later in a pastoral charge delivered in 1858, in which he maintained that the wisest course, the course which had actually been followed in his diocese, was "not to leave the bishop to administer the diocese on the absolute authority of his letters patent, nor to seek legal authority over his clergy by ordinance of the local legislature," but "to establish by mutual compact between the bishop, clergy, and laity a system of self-regulation, to which the civil law would so far give effect as to uphold the agreements finally made between the respective parties, and fairly carried out according to its provisions." At a conference held at Adelaide on 6 January 1852 a draft constitution was accepted, and a resolution carried authorizing a petition to the Queen to sanction and to give effect to its provisions. Early in the following year the Bishop journeyed to England in order to submit the petition, and although the petition was not granted the visit had two important results. The provisions of the bill, already mentioned, brought by Archbishop Sumner before the House of Lords, and carried in that House, but rejected by the House of Commons, were in no small measure suggested by the terms of the Adelaide petition. More important yet, the Bishop secured high legal opinion in England in favour of the right of a colonial diocese to adopt and carry out the provisions of a draft constitution without the sanction of the Imperial legislature. Armed with this opinion Short returned to his diocese, and in October 1855 convened a diocesan assembly which considered, accepted and solemnly signed the synodal compact and fundamental provisions which thenceforward were to form the constitution of the diocese: and the synod met under this constitution for the first time in April 1856. The example of Adelaide in pro-

ceeding by the method of consensual contract was followed by the dioceses of New Zealand and Capetown.

In New South Wales action to secure a constitution for the Church was necessarily delayed by the death of Bishop Broughton. The delay, however, had the advantage of providing the Church in this colony with additional materials on which to form its judgment and to take action, in the experience of other dioceses and the varied courses of action adopted by them. Broughton's successor, Frederick Barker, did not arrive in Sydney until March 1855, and it was two years later that for the first time he found himself free to direct his attention to this subject. In the year 1857 he secured the preparation of a draft bill by three experienced lawyers, which after consideration and acceptance by conferences held in each of the two dioceses of the colony, was to be submitted to Parliament. The conference in Sydney was held in the Church Society's House, Phillip Street, in November 1858. Canon Allwood, incumbent of St James's Church, pressed for the acceptance of an enabling bill only, giving the Church permission to hold synods and to pass ordinances which should be legally valid. The majority, however, maintained the view, an opinion in which at that time Bishop Tyrrell concurred, "that the Church was free to form synods, but feared that the exercise of this power was a doubtful good without legislative definition and compulsion . . . and that a mere Enabling Bill, and still more a Constitution founded on agreement or consensual compact, like those in New Zealand and Adelaide, would prove a mere rope of sand, powerless to secure coherence to the Church in the colony."¹¹

The conferences held in the two dioceses then accepted the draft bill with some amendments of importance, and in 1859 sent it to the legislature for parliamentary sanction. It was passed by the Legislative Council, and by April 1861 was ready for presentation for a second reading in the Legisla-

¹¹ *Life and Labours of William Tyrrell, D.D.*, p. 184 (London, 1882).

tive Assembly. It was found, however, that meantime the Legislative Council had on its own initiative introduced an amendment into the bill, limiting the scope of the bishop's veto and excluding from it matters "of temporal concern only." Here was a matter of principle, with respect to which the legislature proposed to override the express and unanimous view of the Church. So anxious was Barker to secure the passage of the bill that he would have accepted it even with this amendment; so strong, however, were the representations of Tyrrell and others in objecting to this high-headed action of the State that the bill was withdrawn from the cognizance of Parliament, and the Church in New South Wales was, as the result proved, not only secured from submission to the intervention of the civil authority in its affairs, but was diverted from the course taken by the Church in Victoria with respect to legislative sanction for its constitution.

In spite of the action of the Legislative Council, Barker remained throughout a consistent advocate of the method of legislative enactment, a view in which he was the more confirmed after his return from a visit to England in 1862 and 1863 by a dispatch addressed to the Governor of Cape Colony by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, pointing out in reference to the Privy Council judgment in the *Long v. Capetown* case that the synod of the Diocese of Capetown in assembling and legislating without parliamentary sanction had assumed powers and taken action, which were legally *ultra vires*. Tyrrell on the other hand had completely changed his views, and by 1865, when the constitutional question again came up for consideration, had reached the conclusion that even an enabling act was unnecessary to secure the legality of the Church's action, as based on agreement, that it was best for the Church to have as little as possible to do with the legislature, and that it could meet in synod and pass regulations binding on its members simply on its own volition:

and in accordance with these views the conference of bishops, clergy, and laity in Newcastle met as a synod in 1865.

By this time, however, another factor had entered into the question through the consecration of Mesac Thomas, as Bishop of Goulburn, in March 1863. Thus the concurrence of not two only but three dioceses to the proposed action of the Church in New South Wales became a matter of importance, indeed of necessity, if the Church in the colony was to seek uniform legislation for itself as a whole. Further the addition of a third diocese constituted the colony an ecclesiastical province, and raised the question whether a provincial synod should be formed as well as synods of the dioceses, and whether it should take precedence of the diocesan synods as the main legislative body for the whole church in the colony. The latter course was indeed strongly urged by Tyrrell, influenced in this direction, it may well be, by the course adopted in New Zealand, where through the action of Bishop Selwyn provincial synod was made the paramount legislative authority for the Church.

Barker summoned a conference representative of his own diocese in February 1865 and endeavoured to secure the acceptance of an enabling bill, based on the act which regulated synodical organization in Canada, for submission to Parliament. The bill however had reference to the Diocese of Sydney only and made no reference to or provision for a provincial synod. To this action Tyrrell was strenuously opposed, and in deference to his protests the proposed bill was not submitted to Parliament, and Tyrrell, too, gained increasing support for his view that the legislature should be applied to only for a Church Temporalities Bill, to which the constitution should be appended as a schedule, for the regulation of the property of the Church.

He urged further that a provincial conference should be summoned, representative of the three dioceses, in order to

determine a form of constitution for the Church in the colony, and to decide to what extent application should be made to the legislature: and he stated that he was prepared to accept the judgment of the majority in such a conference, even if it ran counter to his own views. The proposed conference eventually met in 1866, and Tyrrell found himself confronted by a formidable opposition led by the bishops and chancellors of the dioceses of Sydney and Goulburn, who clung to the necessity of legislative action and were strongly opposed to according to provincial synods, if formed, any direct legislative authority. Grudging provision was indeed made by the conference for a provincial synod, but its powers were so far crippled by the provision that only matters referred to it by all the dioceses concerned could be taken into consideration, as to render it wholly ineffective as an organ of church government.

Pressure was also brought on the conference to sanction approach to the legislature, both to secure the practical working of the constitution and the management of the property of the Church. In the event it was only the latter which was made the subject of legislation: and by a short bill which became law in October 1866 it was provided that "the several Articles and provisions in the said constitutions and any rules and ordinances to be made under or by virtue, or in pursuance thereof are and shall for all purposes connected with or in any way relating to the property of the said United Church of England and Ireland within the Colony of New South Wales be binding upon the members of the said Church."¹² It was also provided that a copy of the constitution should within three months of the passing of the act "be recorded in the Supreme Court." Thus mainly owing to the influence and efforts of Tyrrell New South Wales stands with Adelaide and New Zealand as a state within which the constitution of the

¹² 30 Victoria. An Act to enable the members of the United Church of England and Ireland in New South Wales to manage the property of the said Church.

Church was based on consensual compact, such legislation as was applied for and obtained dealing only with the recognition of the Church as a body corporate holding property and with the conditions of its tenure of property.

We have thus carried the story to the point, well beyond Bishop Broughton's death, of the establishment in the different dioceses of his province of constitutional government in the form which practically it has retained to this day. It is true that in 1872 the Church in Australia was provided through the establishment of general synod with a common organ of consultation and determination. It is true again that provincial synods have been established in other states than New South Wales, and in two cases have been given direct legislative authority on a limited number of specified subjects. Yet it is the diocesan synod, and not provincial or general synod, which has remained the autonomous unit of government, and, more particularly in the case of those earliest established, has clung jealously to its original charter and has shown a marked unwillingness to surrender any legislative power to a larger and more representative body. To a large extent this jealous attachment to diocesan independence is the outcome of the circumstances under which diocesan synods were first established in the middle of the last century. We have seen how anxious Broughton was that, in framing these constitutions and in seeking authoritative recognition for them, the dioceses in Australasia should act in close co-operation, and should present a common front; and we have seen traces of the almost bitter disappointment which he felt at the centrifugal tendencies of the dioceses of his province and at their determination to act separately and independently in this all-important matter.

It may indeed be said that this adherence to a jealous and exclusive diocesanism has dogged the footsteps of the Church in Australia throughout its subsequent history. It effectually prevented the vesting of general synod with any

measure of direct legislative authority. It reduced provincial action to a grudging minimum: and it has proved the main difficulty in the way of the accomplishment of the next and perhaps final stage of constitutional reform which began in 1905 and is still incomplete. It is true that for long the original constitutions, whether based on legislation or consensual compact, remained adequate to the needs of the Church. Diocesan independence and separateness was perhaps the natural counterpart of the political independence, the one of the other, of the states. But increasingly, and not least as a result of the establishment of the Commonwealth and the growth of national consciousness and unity, it became obvious that the Church needed a far more effectual organ of common legislation and action than is provided by the existing general synod. Years of thought and effort have been given to the matter of enlarging the powers of general synod and of integrating the dioceses into an organic unity for purposes of joint consultation and legislation: and still the completion of the task lags through unwillingness on the part of the larger dioceses to merge themselves in a greater whole and to surrender their independence in matters of vital concern to the whole Church.

The other matter in connexion with which experience has revealed the inadequacy of the diocesan constitutions as originally formed is that of the connexion of the Church in Australia with the Mother Church in England. Broughton and his fellow bishops were anxious, as we have seen, to place the administration of the Church on a more satisfactory basis than that provided by the letters patent defining the scope of their jurisdiction and disciplinary authority. They desired that the scope of their jurisdiction, and the authority to exercise it, should be derived explicitly not from the Crown, but from the Church: and they laboured to provide the Colonial Church with its own organs of discussion and administration, with full representation for the clergy and laity acting in conjunction with them-

selves. But they were equally anxious to disclaim any independence of the Home Church in matters of doctrine and worship. They had no thought of altering the Book of Common Prayer and the formularies of the Church on their own authority: they had no thought of establishing or accepting any final Court of Appeal in matters of doctrine and discipline other than that legally established for the Church in England. Broughton indeed supposed that the maintenance of an exact identity in these respects must prove the main bond of unity in that "confederation of episcopal churches" which was, we have seen, the goal of his own ambition. Hence in the framing of the diocesan constitutions the bishops and their advisers assumed no power of independent action in these directions. Indeed they explicitly disclaimed any desire for such authority. The legal bond with the Mother Church which was thus left untouched has proved, however, unduly to fetter the Church's freedom of action in the light of changing circumstances. The growth of the Church in Australia into a self-governing national or regional church of the Anglican communion has brought with it the necessity of the assumption under proper safeguards of authority to revise or alter the Book of Common Prayer and the formularies of the Church. It has also involved the proposal to erect a final Court of Appeal, for matters of doctrine as well as of discipline, within and for the Church in Australia. This was a development which naturally lay beyond the horizon for those who framed and accepted the original constitutions of the Australian dioceses.

On one matter, however, we believe that Broughton showed a wise prescience. We have noted the insistent stress which he laid on the independence of the clerical estate and on the right of its members to sit and debate with the bishop, but apart from the laity, when any matter arose for consideration which lay within the special province of the clergy. Broughton's desire in this respect was not fulfilled. Once admitted to the councils of the Church the laity were

not content with conventions separate from the synods of bishop and clergy. They sought and obtained complete equality with the clergy, whatever the subject of debate and decision. The synods of the Australian dioceses do not consist, in accordance with the traditional form of those assemblies and with the recommendations of the bishops of the 1850 conference, of bishop and clergy only, but of bishop, clergy, and lay representatives. Moreover, in the provision made for lay representation the laity considerably outnumber the clergy, not infrequently by two to one, in the diocesan synods. Often too their representatives are elected by a very inadequate parochial constituency. In the case of the largest metropolitan diocese the unbeneficed clergy are entirely excluded from synod. The laity have an equal voice and vote on all questions which arise for discussion and resolution, however "spiritual" or doctrinal they may be: and the only opportunity which the clergy possess of expressing their own independent view is that which is provided by the method, when demanded, of voting by orders. We believe that in this matter, however, history has proved Broughton right, and that the efforts which he and his fellow bishops made to secure for the laity a responsible share in the councils of the Church has in effect led to an undue measure of lay domination in those councils. That it was right and indeed inevitable to accord to the laity a share of such responsibility we fully recognize, as also that the action so taken has broadened the basis of church government and administration, and strengthened the hold of the Church on the loyalty of its people. We suggest, however, that the acceptance of the limitations on lay action proposed by Broughton, such as would have enabled the clergy to deliberate and decide separately on matters of specifically clerical concern, would have made for a better and more proportionate distribution of powers in the councils of the Church, and often for greater progressiveness in handling matters of primary importance.

CHAPTER XIX

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE (P.A.M.)

THE first white settlers in New South Wales found themselves in contact with a primitive people, which from time immemorial had occupied the land. The aborigines with whom they were brought into contact, and often into conflict, were "pure nomads, the members of a tribe hunting over the land that had belonged to their ancestors, and not encroaching on that of others." They were neither a pastoral nor an agricultural community. They lived by the chase, and the grass-seeds which their women ground and cooked. They built no settled abodes, their only shelter being the bark mia-mias, which they erected at their camping-places. Their weapons, too, were of the most primitive kind, the spear, the boomerang, and the nulla-nulla. Charles Darwin in 1836 thus describes them: "They will not cultivate the ground, or build houses, or even take the trouble of tending a flock of sheep when given to them. On the whole they appear to me to stand some few degrees higher in the scale of civilization than the Fuegians."

Primitive though they were, the most archaic people extant, they made a far from unfavourable impression on sympathetic observers. In 1822 Baron Field wrote: "They bear themselves erect and address you with confidence, always with good humour, often with grace." A recent estimate of them speaks of them as follows: "As a race, the aborigines are polite, proper in their behaviour, modest, unassuming, gay, fond of jokes and laughter, and skilful

mimics . . . by nature frank, open, and confiding, of a lively disposition, and cheerful under all sorts of privations." They were not without religion. They believed in beings with power superior to their own, beings, however, to which they did not look for help, and which had no interest in their conduct. Practical religion for them meant sheer magic, "the magic of pointing bones and sticks, practised by medicine men, themselves initiated by others." Disaster, sickness, and death were never to them natural occurrences. They were caused by magic, often directed from a distance. Apart from the fashioning of their primitive weapons and the chase, in which their capacity for observation and tracking almost reached the level of a fine art, much of their time was spent in religious ceremonies, particularly those connected with the initiation of adolescents into the full privileges of tribal life. At the same time their social code was far from undeveloped. The prohibitions and sanctions connected with marriage were based on sound principles and were rigidly enforced. It has indeed been the motive of protection of their women from the lust and rapacity of the lower class of white man which has been one of the commonest grounds of conflict between the two, of attacks on the part of the blacks and reprisals on that of the white man.

The blackfellow, the original occupant of the land, could not be ignored by the white invader. His presence constituted a claim both upon the Government and the Church. Yet both government protection and missionary enterprise were rendered peculiarly difficult by the unsettled nomadic life lived by the aborigines, and by a general lack of understanding of their mentality, beliefs, and customs. Subsequent experience has shown that the only satisfactory method of handling the problem is by the setting aside on the part of the Government of reserves of considerable area, within which the blacks can live their own life undisturbed by the white pastoralist or mineral exploiter, and

within which are admitted only those white men, missionaries and others, who are there in the interests of the blacks. In the early years of white settlement, when the small community was struggling for its very existence and its pioneers were gradually extending the area of effectual occupation, it was hardly to be expected that this method would be adopted: and in fact little or nothing was done to fulfil this obligation, with one or two exceptions to be mentioned, either on the part of the Government or the Church during the first half-century of white settlement in the territory.

Yet it was not that the obligation was ignored. In 1839 Lord John Russell wrote to Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales: "You cannot overrate the solicitude of H.M. Government on the subject of the aborigines of New Holland. It is impossible to contemplate the condition and the prospects of that unfortunate race without the deepest commiseration. . . . It is impossible that the Government should forget that the original aggression was our own, and that we have never yet performed the sacred duty of making any systematic or considerable attempt to impart to the former occupiers of New South Wales the blessings of Christianity, or the knowledge of the arts and advantages of civilised life." The truth contained in this admonition had not been a dead letter in New South Wales. In the previous year a commission had been appointed by Government, with Bishop Broughton as one of its members, to inquire into the condition of the aborigines; and an official document, emanating in 1839 from the Chief Secretary's office, records the appropriation of £5454 12s. from public funds, as the result of an "Estimate of the Public Expenses of the Establishments for the Protection of the Aborigines, and of Missions for their civilization and conversion to Christianity."

Yet the story of the earlier organized efforts of a missionary or government character on behalf of the aborigines was a record of repeated failure. In December 1814 Gover-

nor Macquarie had issued a proclamation in the following terms: "With a view to effect the civilization of the aborigines of New South Wales and to render their habits more domesticated and industrious, and to render them not only happy in themselves but also in some degree useful to the community, he has determined to institute a school for the education of the native children of both sexes, and to assign a portion of land for the occupancy and cultivation of the adult natives."

Early the next year an Asylum for Aboriginal Children, six of either sex, was opened at Parramatta, placed under the superintendence of Mr W. Shelley, a missionary from Tahiti, and under the general control of a mixed committee, from which strangely enough the name of Samuel Marsden was omitted. In 1823, after Governor Macquarie's departure from the colony, the school was removed to Blacktown and was abandoned three years later.

A second attempt was made at Lake Macquarie in 1825. A mission was established under the Rev. L. Threlkeld, with financial support from the Colonial Government, but was closed in 1841 "in consequence of the almost complete extinction of the tribes." The missionary in charge reported that "the peculiar habits of the natives are serious drawbacks to missionary enterprise and to their own spiritual and civil advancement: for however much they may and do become useful to Europeans in trifling employments, they remain uninstructed in Christian principles and become by such intercourse mere initiates in vice."

The same result awaited another attempt made at Wellington in the west, under the Church Missionary Society, and again supported by Government. The mission was established in 1832, was visited by the Rev. S. Marsden, and was watched with interest by Archdeacon Broughton, who arranged to place at the disposal of the missionaries Threlkeld's "Elementary Introduction to the Native Language," and one or two translations of Biblical passages. Already, however,

in 1832, it was reported that "the Aborigines are fast wasting away wherever the white get a footing." Particularly was this so when the type of white men with whom the aborigines were brought into contact consisted largely of "prisoner stockkeepers," ex-convicts employed on the sheep stations. This mission, too, which from 1837 till 1841 was under the charge of the Rev. J. Gunther, was abandoned in the latter year, in view of the rapid shrinking of the blacks in the neighbourhood: and the opinion gradually took shape, and has since very largely prevailed, that the inevitable destiny of the aboriginal people of Australia is complete extinction. The following from an article in the *South Australian Register* of 1 August 1840, not unfairly sums up the position as it was at that date, and as it has largely been since. "We say distinctly and deliberately that nothing comparatively has yet been done . . . that the natives have hitherto acquired nothing of European civilization but European vices and diseases, and that the speedy extinction of the whole race is inevitable, save by the introduction of means for their civilization on a scale much more comprehensive and effectual than any yet adopted." Again in 1850, at the great missionary gathering in Sydney described later in this chapter, Mr Charles Cooper declared that: "Thousands and thousands of pounds had been spent in endeavouring to Christianize and civilize these natives, but without avail"; and that "there was now in the Colony of New South Wales no trace of any efforts to civilize the native races, except a corps of native mounted police, who were in effect mere bloodhounds to hunt down their own race who were addicted to the crime of cattle-stealing."

Meanwhile greater success had attended Australian missionary enterprise in another field, and honourably associated with the name of Samuel Marsden. The attention of the latter had been drawn to New Zealand as a sphere of missionary work by a Maori chief, Duaterra, who had acted as a common sailor in a series of vessels, including the *Ann*,

on which Marsden himself returned to Port Jackson in 1809, and had received generous hospitality from Marsden at his Parramatta home. The latter secured, with considerable difficulty, the concurrence in his proposed visit to New Zealand, of the then Governor, Macquarie, and on 28 November 1814 sailed in the brig *Active*, which had been purchased a year or two earlier expressly for missionary service, on what has been described as "The first and one of the greatest civilising missionary enterprises emanating from the shores of Australia."¹ A landing was made at the Bay of Islands on 19 December, and on Christmas Day the first service was held, and the British flag erected as "The signal of the dawn of civilization, liberty, and religion in that dark and benighted land." Two hundred acres of land were purchased for twelve axes, the property being vested with the Church Missionary Society, and a beginning was made of an industrial mission, the results of which won the unstinted admiration of Charles Darwin when he saw them in 1835 Marsden himself made no less than seven voyages to New Zealand in connexion with this mission, undoubtedly the greatest work of his life. The last was made in 1837, only a year before his death, when he left behind a reputation for "excellent good sense and apostolic enthusiasm displayed in all his work for New Zealand."²

It was at the end of the following year that Broughton himself, who, on his enthronement as Bishop of Australia, succeeded Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta as Patron of the New South Wales Auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society, paid a visit to New Zealand, spending the months from December 1838 until March 1839, in carrying out a request by the parent society in London that he would do so, and thus "acquire for the Mission" established by Marsden and maintained by the Society "such an exercise

¹ S. M. Johnstone, *Samuel Marsden*, p. 120.

² *Australian Encyclopaedia*. Art. MARSDEN.

of the episcopal functions as the case would admit.”³ A full report of his visit was presented to the Society on his return and is preserved among its records.

A few years later (in 1847) began the work among the islands of the South Pacific, which bore fruit in the Melanesian Mission and diocese. Bishop G. A. Selwyn, consecrated first Bishop of New Zealand in 1841, found that according to the terms of the letters patent under which he was appointed, his diocese extended “from the Auckland Islands to the Carolines, i.e. from 50 S. Lat. to 34 N. Lat. . . . upwards of 80 deg. of latitude by 20 of longitude.” In other words, whether by accident or design, his diocese was not confined to New Zealand alone but included the islands to the north as far as the Bismarck Archipelago. This drafter’s error, if such it was, was converted by the Bishop into a call to a magnificent and dangerous enterprise. He declared himself prepared, if adequate support were available, “to undertake the personal inspection and supervision of the whole of Melanesia, that is of all islands lying between the meridian of the east cape of New Zealand or nearly 180 degrees to the meridian of Cape York and the eastern coast of Australia.”⁴

By the end of 1847 he had broken the back of the initial work of organizing his diocese, and rapid progress had been made in the conversion of the Maoris to Christianity. He felt himself at liberty therefore to pay a preliminary visit of inspection to the islands to the north, and in December of that year embarked on H.M.S. *Dido* as temporary chaplain and instructor. He thus visited the Friendly, Navigator, and New Hebrides groups, and established friendly personal relations with the natives. He also formed the plan of missionary strategy on which he subsequently acted, viz., “To select a few promising youths from all the islands,

³ Johnstone, *History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia and Tasmania*, p. 185.

⁴ H. W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn*, vol. i, p. 375.

to prove and test them, first by observation of their habits on board a floating school, then to take them for further training to New Zealand: and lastly when they are sufficiently advanced to send them back as teachers to their own people, if possible with some English missionary, to give effect and regularity to their work.”⁵

For this purpose he purchased the *Undine*, a small schooner of twenty tons, and with no reliable charts to guide him set out on his second island voyage in July 1849, his hope being “to bring back with me some swarthy youths for education at our Polynesian College.” On 1 October he returned to Auckland, and burst in on his wife with the words “I’ve got them,” producing “five wild little islanders, the forerunners of the indigenous clergy of Melanesia.” These were nursed, taught, and cared for at the Bishop’s College, St John’s, Auckland, during the next few months, and in May 1850 he set out on his third visit to the Islands. On 17 May he wrote: “The object of my present voyage has been to carry back my native scholars to their own homes, lest the damp and cold of our New Zealand winter should take effect upon them.” Thus a plan of action had been laid down, and the beginning made of carrying it into effect, for missionary enterprise in the South Pacific. Something more, however, was needed both here and in other fields than individual efforts, however heroic, if the task was to be adequately faced. It must be made the recognized responsibility of the whole Church. On 13 September 1850, Bishop Selwyn wrote that he was “now on my way to meet the Bishops of the Australian Province on the 1st October.” He wrote again on the subject: “We have many important subjects to consider, amongst others the formation of a Board of Missions for the dark and almost unknown archipelago into the skirts of which I have thrice penetrated, the third time with some clear hope of success, by the intro-

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 316.

duction from the five scholars whom I carried back in May last to the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia."

The conference of Australasian bishops, now six in number, met in Sydney as arranged on 1 October 1850, and sat for a whole month. The nature and importance of this conference has been dwelt upon elsewhere in this memoir. Amongst, however, the most outstanding of the results of the Synod was the establishment of "an Australasian Board of Missions, to be supported by voluntary contributions from the six dioceses of Sydney, New Zealand, Tasmania, Adelaide, Melbourne and Newcastle, and having for its object the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races in the province of Australasia, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, New Hanover, New Britain, and the other islands of the Western Pacific." The Board was formally established at a public meeting held in the Infant Schoolroom, Castlereagh Street, on Tuesday, 29 October, at which the six bishops of the Australasian Province were all present, and which was attended by a large and enthusiastic gathering computed at 1300 persons. On the Sunday night preceding, a sermon had been preached on the subject by Bishop Selwyn in St James's Church. The chair was taken at 7 o'clock by the Bishop of Sydney; and both he and his five comprovincials all spoke, the speeches being fully reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the following Saturday.⁶

Bishop Broughton naturally enough confined his remarks to the subject of the aborigines of the colony, and expressed the hope and belief that "crushed and fallen as they were . . . some even of that despised and unfortunate people might be saved and converted by the redeeming grace of their Blessed Saviour." He also quoted at some length from an address which he had delivered to the clergy of the colony twenty-one years earlier, in 1829, when as Archdeacon he gave his first visitation charge, showing that

⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November 1850.

already at that early date he was deeply concerned for the welfare of the Australian native and hoped that the Church of England would justify her unique position "by leading the way as a missionary, and by becoming the mother of missionaries who should attempt the recovery of this unhappy generation."

The same plea was pressed by Bishop Short of Adelaide in a resolution which claimed "that sufficient evidences of God's blessing upon the past work has been afforded to encourage us to expect more enlarged success for the future." In his speech he admitted that "the Australian native had almost ceased to be regarded as a being capable of being civilized and Christianized." Yet he claimed that "the Australian native had a peculiar claim on their sympathies. They had possession of the land which formerly belonged to this race, and all the vices of civilization had been communicated to this unhappy race without any communication of the redeeming virtues." He pointed out the capacity shown by aboriginal children when regularly taught, and urged the necessity of providing some further means of training and discipline, as they grew to manhood and womanhood, "before they could be warranted in speaking of the Australian black as a race beyond the pale of salvation and impute to the hand of God the consequences of their own laggardness." He was able to point to the preparation then being made in his own diocese for the "formation of an establishment at Baston Is., Port Lincoln, to which the natives who had been trained in the schools of Adelaide might be removed, and where by a separation of 200 miles from the presence and influence of other tribes, they might be more readily trained in the paths of righteousness and civilization." Thus he affirmed the necessity of that principle of rigid segregation which subsequent experience has shown to be the only efficacious method of handling the aboriginal problem.

The Bishop of New Zealand moved: "That the foreign

efforts of the Australian Board of Missions be first directed to the islands lying nearest to Australia, viz., New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands: in the hope that by the blessing of God, its missions may hereafter be extended to all the heathen races inhabiting the islands of the western Pacific." The speech opened with a glowing tribute to Samuel Marsden and the splendid courage with which he had carried the Gospel to New Zealand and planted there the banner of the Church. The work begun by Marsden at the Bay of Islands had been extended southwards, and Maoris instructed in the faith had themselves acted as missionaries to their countrymen. The same results had been achieved in the Chatham Islands, where on the occasion of a visit he had found "no less than 300 candidates for Baptism." Bishop Selwyn went on to give a vivid account of his voyages to the islands nearest to Australia, and of the method which he had adopted of training young natives of these islands at his college at Auckland with a view to their returning to the islands as teachers of their people. He pointed out the climatic drawbacks to the permanent residence of white missionaries in the islands. The early months of the year, he said: "were most unhealthy for Europeans" but "in the intermediate period between these unhealthy seasons the islands might be visited by a small vessel and a teacher left from whom the people would receive some instructions, and by whom some arrangement might be made for getting some of the younger natives to accompany him to the place of their destination." The great variety of island dialects, he maintained, made it advisable to use English as the medium of instruction at the training college.

The resolutions moved by the last two episcopal speakers, the Bishops of Melbourne and Newcastle, dealt with the formation of the proposed Australasian Board of Missions and its organization both provincial and diocesan. The governors of the Australian colonies were to be requested

to act as patrons of the Board. The Bishop of Sydney was elected President. Treasurers and secretaries, both clerical and lay, were to be appointed, and St John's College, New Zealand, was to be "provisionally recognized as a missionary college for the purposes of the Board." A further interesting provision was to the effect that "the Bishops of New Zealand and Newcastle be requested to act as missionary bishops." Bishops Selwyn and Tyrrell were lifelong friends, and it was arranged that, as a pledge and outcome of the partnership between Australia and New Zealand in missionary enterprise, these two bishops should undertake a voyage to the Islands together, in order to consolidate and carry farther the work of which the former had already laid the foundation. The voyage was carried out from July till September of the following year, 1851, the two bishops travelling in the *Border Maid*, a vessel of 100 tons, sailing from Auckland and reaching as far north as Malicolo in the New Hebrides.

It is beyond the scope of this memoir to carry further the missionary record of the Church in Australia and New Zealand. Inevitably with the growth of the latter into a fully established ecclesiastical province, its missionary organization was separated from that in Australia, and in course of time a New Zealand Board of Missions was formed. The diocese of Melanesia itself as established under its first bishop, John Coleridge Patteson, was placed within the province of New Zealand, which has always had a chief and honourable share in the maintenance of this mission. Yet the task has been shared by the Australian Church, thus securing that the missionary partnership originally formed should be continued. Meanwhile the Australian Board of Missions has had an equally honourable record. It has endeavoured to fulfil the primary call, so strongly emphasized by Bishop Broughton both in 1829 and again in 1850, of work among the aborigines of Australia,

a great step forward in this field being taken by the establishment of the Diocese of Carpentaria in 1900: while in the founding in 1891 of the New Guinea Mission and Diocese, which it still maintains, the Australian Board of Missions can point to a missionary enterprise of which the whole Church may be justly proud.

CHAPTER XX

BROUGHTON'S SECOND VISIT TO ENGLAND

AFTER the close of the month's episcopal conference, at the end of November 1850, the Bishop of Sydney seems from his letters to have given himself for a while to his diocesan duties. One of the best known, and certainly most picturesque, incidents of these pastoral activities is associated with the finding of gold in Australia. After the discovery of the goldfields at Sofala in the Bathurst district in 1851 the Bishop promptly visited the men, who were gathering by hundreds, and at a big open-air meeting told them he was arranging to provide a church for them at once. The materials and furniture would, he said, be sent from Bathurst ready for use, and he asked them to join him in putting them up so that service could be held on the following Sunday, 13 November; and at 6 a.m. on that day he hoped, if a good many of them came to help, they could get the job finished in time for the service at nine o'clock. In answer to his appeal such a body of men assembled that enough picks and shovels could not be provided for all of them. The Bishop started the work by tackling one of the post-holes with such vigour that he inspired others to a like alacrity. The woodwork was rapidly finished, and the building fitted with its simple holy table and other immediately necessary adjuncts well before service time. At the appointed hour, nine o'clock, after the introductory worship, the Bishop went up by a ladder to the roof for the special prayers, and then, nailing a wooden cross on the entrance gable, dedicated the

building in the name of Christ Church. A celebration of Holy Communion followed, and a quite short and quite excellent sermon¹ was preached from St Mark xv, 25: "And it was the third hour, and they crucified him." The Bishop also told his unusual congregation that regular clerical services would be supplied them.

Three months after this laymen's meeting the Bishop left for England, his departure being marked by a wonderful display of respect and affection from all sections of the community, including a large number of the laity who had felt it their duty to oppose the proposals for securing self-government for the Australian Church upon the lines laid down by the meeting of the Bishop and clergy of 14 April. After a celebration of Holy Communion in St Andrew's Cathedral on Saturday morning, 14 August, the congregation filled the parish hall. The Bishop received a farewell address from the clergy, and his acknowledgment of it was his last public utterance in Australia. In concluding it the Bishop said:

For myself I desire with much earnestness two things—first, the benefit of your continual intercession for me before the Throne of Grace; and secondly, that if in the discharge, during so many years, of the duties of my office I have ever through misuse of the discretion which is attached to it given cause of offence to any, they will forgive the wrong at my present earnest solicitation and on my humble confession of it. It has never been an intentional wrong you may be assured. Forgive me this wrong I pray you; as I do most freely and from my heart forgive if any have offended me. We have partaken together, it may possibly be for the last time upon earth, of that Blessed Communion which is not only an outward symbol, but ought verily and indeed to fill us with the substance, of that peace which Christ left as His last bequest to His followers; and in the fellowship of which we are made one with Him. Thus let us separate, remembering the precepts—"Be ye kind to one another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you"; and may the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be upon you, and remain with you for ever. Amen.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* in its report says that "the

¹ W. Grant Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England*, p. 197.

address was listened to with the greatest attention, and many were moved to tears." One of the leading laymen, Mr Charles Campbell, said he had been requested to assure the Bishop that had more time been available he would have received an address from the laity, expressive of their affectionate and respectful sympathy with him on the eve of a long and probably eventful journey. Bishop Broughton's last public official act before starting for England was the laying of the foundation-stone of the new nave of St John's, Parramatta.

The regular mail packet communication with England was just then disorganized by disaffection among the seamen, so on Monday, 16 August, the Bishop sailed by the *Salicia* for Lima, the capital of Peru, where the first part of his voyage ended. His energy impelled him to occupy his time before he could be taken on to England in exercising his office among the few Church of England families in Lima. There was an English chaplain, but the services were held in a room at the quarters of the British Embassy. The Bishop, besides ministering the Sacraments, frequently preached, and was the first Anglican bishop who had visited that part of the South American coast. He promptly reported the position to the S.P.C.K., and the Society forwarded Bibles and Prayer Books for use in public worship. At the S.P.C.K. welcome to Broughton in London he spoke of his time at Lima, and urged that an effort should be made to build a small church there. If the British Government supported the proposal, the Roman Catholic authorities would not, probably, oppose it.

The Bishop's next stage was by steamer to Panama, and thence across the isthmus "on mules and by canoes," as he reported in writing to Coleridge, and then on by thirty miles of railroad to St Thomas's, to join the West Indian mailboat, *La Plata*, for Southampton. The crossing of the isthmus involved fording streams on the mules and ploughing through malarial swamps, and it is believed that from these plague

spots the Bishop carried away infection that developed into the severe bronchial trouble which soon after attacked him. In a letter to Coleridge after the *La Plata* had been put in quarantine at Southampton, he says:

We have had a most calamitous passage from the West Indies, having lost our captain, purser, one of the engineers, and seven or eight men, chiefly by yellow fever. I have escaped that scourge, although I was, during a week or ten days, lamentably unwell, reduced to such a state of debility that it was burdensome to me even to go up and down stairs from my cabin to the saloon; and my voice was entirely lost. The first time that I got out of bed to attend the funeral of a sailor my power of utterance was so impaired that, being quite unable to be heard, I requested the captain, who stood next to me, to read the lesson, and when I looked at the poor fellow who lay at my feet ready to be slipped into the surge, I could not suppress the thought that not improbably I might be the next to be laid low. Yet how mysterious and unsearchable are the appointments of the Almighty! Within four days I was standing again in the gangway, to perform the same solemn office over the lifeless body of our much respected captain, whose assistance I had so lately solicited to supply my own infirmity. We have just lost another of the crew, who will be buried this afternoon, and there are five others ill, but I trust not dangerously. The passengers are all well.

Upon pratique being granted, the Bishop remained on the ship as there were two sailors seriously ill, and when they both died the next day and the vessel went out to sea for the burial, at the end of the service he gave a brief address to the crew, who were said to have been obviously impressed by it. The *La Plata* steamed into Southampton harbour in the afternoon of Saturday, 20 November, and the Bishop landed after his tragic experiences. *The Times* reference to them roused widely expressed admiration for the Bishop's devotion to duty.

But he became seriously ill almost immediately after getting on shore, and his long yearned for meeting with his aged mother, who was living in Warwickshire, had to be put off for some time. Of the incidents of that meeting Broughton, naturally, spoke with reserve, but he did tell his friends how, overcome by emotion, he knelt while mother and son mingled their tears of gratitude, before the Bishop gave his

benediction to her to whom he often publicly declared he "owed everything." At the end of the days which they both must have felt to have been all too few, Broughton, following a brief visit to Joshua Watson, returned to London to fulfil a long programme of engagements. Though still in weak health, after a short rest, towards the middle of December he undertook in one day interviews on the Colonial Churches self-government question at 9.30 a.m. with the Bishop of Oxford; another with the Archbishop of Canterbury at noon; a third with the Bishop of London at one o'clock; and a fourth with Gladstone at 2.30 p.m. Broughton comments: "A good day's work for a convalescent," and adds: "Of course no conclusions of any practical importance were arrived at, but I think there was an approach to some." Later on, under date 22 December, when staying at Belgrave Square, he writes: "On my arrival here today I found seventeen letters awaiting me, and had before that more than forty unanswered, although I must have written a hundred or more since landing. How to keep pace with my correspondents (many of them personally unknown to me), I know not. It is the same as to visits. Every leisure moment I spend riding in a fly, and yet with all my assiduity I have not gone through more than a third of my list." It seems evident, then, that the Colonial Church question was attracting a good deal of quiet attention in England. In a January letter he reminds Coleridge "of a convention of colonial bishops which I think I mentioned to you as having been proposed by me, and which is now organized, with the express approval of the Archbishop" as being on the eve of meeting at the offices of the S.P.G. The other colonial bishops in England were: Bishop Mountain of Quebec (who was consecrated Bishop of Montreal, Lower Canada, with Broughton in 1836), and the Bishops of Toronto, Antigua, Newfoundland, and Capetown. The Archbishop proposed to receive them in further conference after their convention, but Broughton's fatal illness pre-

vented this from being then done, and there seems no record of the convention having been formally resumed.

Some personal incidents associated with Broughton's crowded London life in January 1853 are of interest. He met Keble and heard him preach, but thought the sermon "lacked unction." An invitation to Hursley Broughton proposed to fit in with his next visit to Hampshire. The Bishop of Oxford also invited him to Cuddesdon. A suggestion that he should preach at St Paul's, London, he regretted not to be able to consider, as his medical advisers warned him against any great strain upon his vocal organs. Nevertheless, he shared in some services and public meetings. At the S.P.C.K. welcome to him on 4 January, after gratefully acknowledging the substantial help given him by the Society, he made a powerful plea for a definite presentment of the Church of England as holding the historic faith of Christendom.² About a fortnight later the S.P.G. offered their greetings. The Bishop of London presided, and the secretary, the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, read the cordial address which was presented to Bishop Broughton, who replied in a speech in which he reviewed his Australian career. It has, therefore, historic value, but is also memorable as the Bishop's last platform deliverance, excepting a missionary address at Barnet, where he lived as a boy before going to the King's School, Canterbury. One of the Canadian bishops suggested to the Rev. E. Hawkins, who had charge of Curzon Street Chapel, London, as well as his S.P.G. secretaryship, that the colonial bishops might be invited to the celebration of Holy Communion in the chapel on the festival of the Conversion of St Paul, and upon this being arranged the Metropolitan of Australasia was asked to be both celebrant and preacher, to which he assented. His text was Acts xix, 15. In the morning of Sunday, 30 January, the Bishop preached at Lambeth parish church upon the occasion of the unveiling of an east window

² *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. vi, pp. 308-15.

to the memory of Archbishop Howley of Canterbury, the principal consecrator when Broughton was admitted to the episcopate. The sermon,³ from the 11th verse of the Epistle of St Jude, was a spirited claim for opposition to unsound doctrine and unworthy living in the Church by the zealous propagation of her divine origin as witnessed to by the apostolic ministry, and the guarding of purity in life by the Gospel and the Sacraments. This was the Bishop's last message as a preacher, and hence must always have a special interest. In the week following he went to Farnham (the only parochial appointment excepting the curacy of Hartley Westpall that he held in England) to visit the Bishop of Winchester, his diocesan in the old days, and some of his former parishioners. On his return to London he had another severe attack of bronchitis when a guest of Lady Gipps, widow of Sir George Gipps, a governor of New South Wales in Broughton's time, and a schoolfellow of his at the King's School, Canterbury.

Edward Coleridge, devoted friend of Broughton and the Australian Church, had been often in touch with the Bishop since his landing in England, so far as was possible with Broughton's crowded programme of engagements and Coleridge's work at Eton. Upon hearing of the Bishop being again ill Coleridge hurried to him, and his letter to the Bishop of New Zealand of his experiences in that house of sickness, though belonging to a class of correspondence seldom submitted for public reading, yet surely may be accepted as an exception to the rule, because of its valuable witness as to how a heroic servant of God can face the close of the earthly life. Coleridge wrote:

I did not see him till Tuesday, February 15th, when I hastened to London on hearing that he was dangerously ill at Lady Gipps' house. On my arrival I found him in a high state of delirium, partly from a violent attack of bronchitis, partly from the stimulants which were absolutely necessary for the maintenance of life. But the instant I spake to him he sat up in bed, and said in evident delight "God

³ W. Grant Broughton, *Sermons on the Church of England*, p. 346.

bless my soul, my dear Coleridge, how glad I am to see you; now let us sail at four today." Then he wandered again. But whenever I repeated Scripture or prayed by his bedside, he seemed immediately to be recalled to himself; he would correct the minutest mistake in my quoting a text, and would follow the intonation of my voice in the Lord's Prayer. I was with him again on Thursday 17th and found him at first calm and collected, but in a few minutes he wandered again; but his wanderings of mind and his words were then and during his whole illness free from any carnal or secular taint, showing how pure his mind, how holy his life, had been. He was always occupied either in prayer or rehearsal of the Psalms, or preaching to imaginary congregations, or advising on synodal matters, or sailing for his diocese. On no one occasion did anyone around him hear him refer to any simple worldly matter. He seemed to be in constant communion with God. On the following day he was so much better that one of his physicians wrote to me (for I could not leave Eton) to announce that he was out of danger. He was declared on Saturday "substantially better"; he was seen at ten that night by the apothecary and was thought to be going on favourably. At twelve Lady Gipps went to look at him before she went to bed, thought him much altered, sent for the apothecary, who came and found him dying. He breathed his last, sweetly and softly, at fifteen minutes past one on Sunday morning, after repeating in a firm and rational voice with his very last breath: "The earth is full of the glory: full of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." I had previously arranged to be with him again on Sunday afternoon, unless sent for by electric telegraph. On Saturday he more than once asked Lady Gipps: "When is Coleridge coming? I want to see him." When she said that I was coming up tomorrow, he said: "Tomorrow; that will be too late." Owing to the suddenness of his death and to there being no electric telegraph on Sunday, I remained in ignorance of what had happened until I reached the door about five p.m. and saw all the blinds down. You may easily believe how much I was shocked at so unexpected termination of an illness the pressing danger of which I had been led to believe was averted. Dear good man! He must have died very easily, for there was no struggle at the time, and afterwards there remained no mark of pain on his countenance. . . . Richmond,⁴ to whom he has sat twice, came and observed his countenance carefully, and had a very good caste taken of his head and shoulders; so that we hope we have secured a perfect likeness for a print and for a monumental effigy.

The Dean and Chapter of Canterbury upon hearing of the Bishop's death, asked that the burial might be in Canterbury Cathedral, with which in his early life Broughton had such close contact and associations. So it was decided

⁴ The celebrated portrait painter.

that his tomb should be in the south aisle, near to that of Sir George Gipps, his former schoolfellow and friend. Another notable incident is that Broughton was the first bishop buried in the cathedral since the English Reformation.

On Saturday, 26 February, the body was moved from the cloisters into the Cathedral for the funeral, which was marked by "every circumstance of simple yet most impressive solemnity," the choristers in procession chanting Dr Croft's setting of the burial office. They were preceded by the masters and fifty scholars of the King's School. Then came lay clerks, minor canons, and the canons—who were immediately in front of the body. The pall bearers were: the Bishop of Quebec; Bishop Carr (formerly of Bombay); the Rev. H. Bailey, Warden of St Augustine's College; the Revs Ernest Hawkins (secretary of S.P.G.) and Edward Coleridge; and Mr George Gipps. After the mourners were the staff and students of St Augustine's College, and then the robed clergy. The whole service was taken by Archdeacon Harrison, canon of Canterbury. The Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had arranged to be present but were detained in London by public business.

Immediately after the funeral it was decided to inaugurate a "Bishop Broughton Memorial Fund," and on 17 March, at a meeting at the S.P.G. house in London, over which the Bishop of London presided, resolutions were adopted recommending an effigy tomb in Canterbury Cathedral and a replica for the cathedral at Sydney; the foundation of a "Broughton Scholarship" at St Augustine's College for students intending to serve the Church in Australia; two "Broughton Prizes" at the King's School, Canterbury, for Latin and Ecclesiastical History. All these proposals have been carried into effect, and also other educational endowments at The King's School, Parramatta, which was founded by Bishop Broughton, and other places in Australia.

Many tributes appeared in the English and Australian Press, both religious and secular, to Bishop Broughton's remarkable career and achievements, but historically it seems enough to put on record a brief extract from the speech of Sir Alfred Stephen, C.J., at the meeting in Sydney on 30 May 1853, in connexion with the "Bishop Broughton Memorial Fund." Sir Alfred said:

No man ever went down to his grave full of years and honours carrying with him more deservedly the respect and veneration of his fellow churchmen and fellow colonists than Bishop Broughton. I knew him well, and I had also a large opportunity of knowing how his work was appreciated by those not of his own Church, and I believe that by all classes and by all sects no man in the colony was more universally respected than Bishop Broughton. I can unhesitatingly say that if the late Bishop was not a man universally loved in the colony, he was a man universally respected and esteemed. Outside of his Church, indeed, he knew no sect, no party, and his whole efforts were for the common good. If ever there was a patriot, in the best and highest sense of the word, that patriot, in the colony of New South Wales, was Bishop Broughton. There was not one great object for the promotion of civilisation and social advancement in the colony with which he was not connected; there was not one effort to raise its name in the estimation of the world with which his name was not identified.

This panegyric by the Chief Justice of New South Wales ought greatly to help in forwarding the purpose for which this book has been written—to promote an adequate idea of the place due in Australian history to the first Bishop of Australia.

CHAPTER XXI

RETROSPECT

(P.A.M.)

So ended the episcopate and the life of one whose name must always hold a primacy of honour in the early annals of the Church in Australia. The twenty-three years of his service in Australia were a period of rapid transition not only in the ecclesiastical but in the social and political spheres, and demanded gifts of exceptional quality to meet the demands of a rapidly-changing social order. When Broughton arrived as Archdeacon of New South Wales in 1829, the colony had still a largely penal character. Transportation was still in full force, and the social and economic system prevailing in New South Wales still rested on a basis of convict labour. Out of a total population in 1829 of some 36,500, according to Broughton's own account, not less than 17,000 were Crown prisoners. In face, however, of a rising tide of free immigration and of a growing public sentiment against the indignity involved in the colony still being treated as England's major penitentiary, transportation was abolished in 1840, and the attempt to revive it ten years later was effectually blocked by the strength of colonial opposition, and particularly by that of the free artisans and workmen who saw their standard of living threatened by the competition of convicts and assigned labourers. It was indeed the immigration in increasingly large numbers of free settlers, the vast majority by aid from the State, which transformed not only the size but the character of the popula-

tion. During the period 1829-50 not less than 117,600 free persons arrived in Australia, destined to settle in the country districts, but actually in great numbers remaining in the cities. Between 1833 and 1846, both dates well within the period of Broughton's Australian life, the population of Sydney grew from 16,232 to 38,358, and that of New South Wales from 60,794 to 189,609.

Moreover this vastly enlarged number was scattered over an increasingly large area. The wool industry came into its own as the major source of Australia's wealth: and what rendered this possible was the magnificent feats of exploration which, beginning with the penetration of the coastal range in 1813, opened up to occupation and development great tracts of country to north, west, and south. And following the track of the explorers, indeed themselves often the pioneers of exploration, came the squatters occupying the plains with their flocks of sheep, and wandering and settling either within "the pale" or without, either as free grantees, nominal leaseholders, or occupiers without lease and without rent. It was this indeed, the pastoralist squatter class, which with its demands for cheap labour determined the economic character of the colony, with its demand for social recognition sought to establish itself as a landed and even a titled aristocracy, and with its demand for political representation hastened the process by which the colony acquired the right of self-government from the mother country.

For alongside the growth of the population, and the transformation of the social structure of the colony, came successive instalments of autonomy extorted from the Home Government, which altered the political order from a military autocracy into a representative and responsible government. The Act of 1823 establishing an Advisory Council to act with the Governor was followed by that of 1842 giving to the Council a more fully representative character and increased powers, and was crowned by that of 1850,

which left the Australian colonies free to set up organs of government of their own, choosing and resulted in the establishment of responsible government in New South Wales in 1855. Meanwhile the New State Movement of the period resulted in both Victoria (1851) and Queensland (1859) being separated from the parent colony and launched on their independent ways.

Last but not least, and still within the period of Broughton's Australian life, came the discovery of gold in February 1851 and the inrush of gold diggers, both from the cities and from overseas. Broughton himself, as has been noted elsewhere, paid a personal visit in November 1851 to one of the earliest gold-digging settlements, near Bathurst, for the purpose, with the co-operation of the diggers themselves, of erecting a church in the settlement: and his own departure for England was delayed and his proposed route altered by the difficulty of securing a passage in 1852, ship after ship being held up through the desertion of the crews in favour of the superior attraction of the diggings. This new and lucrative industry resulted, though its results carry us some few years beyond the end of Broughton's career, once again in a vast accession to the population of Australia (between 1851 and 1861 it was almost trebled), and what is equally important, once again in a transformation of the social and political basis of the Australian community, and the beginnings of that egalitarian democracy which has since and increasingly been its predominant characteristic.

These profound changes in the political and social structure of the colony do not indeed bulk largely in Broughton's correspondence and addresses, though echoes of them are constantly heard in his written and spoken words. Yet they were undoubtedly the background of very much of his activity, and largely determined its direction. The growing population both of Sydney and of the pastoral and agricultural areas made, as we have seen, constant and over-

whelming demands on his capacity to supply the spiritual needs of the widely scattered settler communities, and to provide the necessary buildings and clergy so required. It rendered necessary not only the undertaking on his part of long and arduous pastoral journeys, enabling him to gain personal touch with his people and their problems, but also a visit to England undertaken in 1834 with the express purpose of placing before the authorities at Home the heavy demands on men and money for religious and educational objects which the growing colony was making. It involved also and inevitably the imperative need of a division of his vast diocese, a need which was met by the establishment of the See of Tasmania in 1842 and those of Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide in 1847.

Corresponding again too, and in large part occasioned by, the changes in the political constitution of the colony, came changes in the status and government of the Church. It was only four years before Broughton's first arrival in the colony in 1829 that the period had been ended, during which the sole provision for the spiritual needs of the settlement had taken the form of chaplains appointed, paid, and controlled by the Government, and a new ecclesiastical era had been inaugurated by placing the colony under the nominal jurisdiction of the distant Bishop of Calcutta. As Arch-deacon of New South Wales, Broughton was himself appointed and paid directly by the State, and held a high civil position in the colony. His subsequent appointments as Bishop of Australia in 1836, and later as Bishop of Sydney in 1848, were still made by letters patent issued by the Crown and defining in detail the nature and scope of his authority. He lived, however, long enough to take an active and leading share in the process by which the Church of England in the colony was emancipated from state control and acquired, on a recognized constitutional basis, its own organs of government. For this freedom the Church had, of course, to pay the price. With every stage

of the process by which the colony itself was accorded steadily larger instalments of political independence, the Church lost something of its originally "established" and privileged status: and Broughton was a witness, and often an anxious and pained witness, of the successive stages which marked the loss by the Church of England of the unique privileges of establishment, and its transformation into a voluntary society on a legal equality in the eyes of the State with other religious bodies.

Broughton fought indeed hard and long for the retention by the Church of England of its originally "established" status and the monopoly of privilege which that status carried with it: and he continued to fight for some at least of the privileges of establishment, even when it had already become obvious that they could not be indefinitely preserved. More particularly was this fight maintained in the educational domain. He sincerely regretted the final abolition in 1833 of the Church and School Lands Corporation, which liberally endowed religion and education as provided by the Church of England without regard to other religious bodies: and one of the greatest triumphs of his life was his defeat, in a two hours' speech which led to their withdrawal, of the proposals laid before the Legislative Councils in 1839, and supported by the then Governor, Sir George Gipps, to transform the religious character and control of the educational system of the colony.

If, however, he continued to fight for a privileged Church against the inevitable trend of the times, it was so not because he valued the legal establishment for its own sake, but because he so entirely believed in the historic character of the Church of England as the purest and most genuine expression of primitive and apostolic Christianity, and in her unique mission as the moral and spiritual mother of the nations and felt that this should be reflected in her legal status. This indeed was not only a belief, but the ruling passion of his life. It was this intense belief, the

fruit of prolonged historical study and of a wide personal experience, which underlay his long, if losing, battle for the retention by the Church of England of the control of education in the colony. It was this belief, too, which prompted his strenuous resistance to what he regarded as an unlawful and uncanonical intrusion of a Roman Catholic hierarchy into an already occupied province of the English Church. It was this belief which nerved him to undertake the distant and sometimes perilous journeys by land and sea in the discharge of his pastoral office, travels which occupied so much of his time and exhausted so much of his energy: and it was this belief finally which inspired the effort, beginning with the conference in 1850 and only ending with his death, to secure in co-operation with his fellow colonial bishops, both Australian and other, those powers of self-government, legislative, administrative and judicial, which he knew the Church inherently to possess. If he suffered defeat in some of the causes for which he strove, if in some respects the irresistible tide of events was against him, none the less splendid, indeed none the less victorious, was the battle for the Church which he fought. Like the great men who, as his fellow bishops, fought at his side in the later years of his episcopate, he was cast in heroic mould; a leading figure among the leaders who laid those firm and lasting foundations of the Church in this continent on which succeeding generations have been content and thankful to build.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIXES

No. 1

EXTRACTS FROM A CHARGE TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF AUSTRALIA BY WILLIAM GRANT, LORD BISHOP OF AUSTRALIA, DELIVERED AT THE TRIENNIAL VISITATION IN MAY, 1844

... It is my duty in this public manner, and on this solemn occasion, to represent some circumstances, almost peculiar, so far as I know, to these latter ages, and in a more extended degree, perhaps, to this country, than to any other upon earth. I allude to that disposition, arising, I would persuade myself, not so much from selfishness, as from forgetfulness or want of better information, which has led so many men, the professed friends of religion, and members of the Church, to believe, that they may lawfully and blamelessly appropriate the entire possession of the soil of the territory to the use and benefit of themselves and their descendants, without bestowing a thought upon the means by which provision should be made for the perpetual support of the Christian faith. It is, I believe, an example almost without precedent of so much as one century's standing. As my warrant for making this perhaps unwelcome observation, let me remark that the whole extent of landed property set apart by private devotion for the support of the Church of England, from the foundation of the colony to the present time, does not perhaps amount to a tenth part of the extent which individuals have obtained for their own portion: and yet by far the most numerous section of such landowners have been, and are professedly members of our communion. On every side may be seen instances of those who have, from motives of personal advantage or convenience, set themselves down in positions where they knew before hand they must be cut off from all communion with the visible Church, and yet have apparently felt no anxiety (for indeed they have made no effort), to provide that the word of God may have free course, and God himself may be glorified by the institution among them of the sacraments and ministry of the Gospel. We find, at the same time, expectations entertained by them that the ordinances of religion, and its converting and sanctifying influences, will, through some unknown and independent agency, be ministered unto them: forgetful of the conditional promise, "Seek and ye shall find," as well as of the

assurance that "the hand of the diligent maketh rich" in a spiritual much more even than in a worldly sense. And if the instances which we witness of this description within the settled limits of the colony could justly (though I fear they cannot) be considered as exceptions only to a general rule of better character, what must we say when we turn our attention to the districts beyond the boundaries, where an absolute repudiation of Christianity, in form at least and, it is to be feared, too much in substance also, has been the rule with scarcely an exception. I trust that this community will do me the justice to remember that in my capacity as a member of the former Legislative Council I did bring this crying grievance under its consideration. It is not my intention to say more than that the reception which that proposal received was not such as to encourage a repetition of it; and the only resource to prevent the total disuse of the ordinances of Christianity throughout those extensive regions, from which temporal profits were constantly accruing, was found in the extraordinary liberality of the most venerable and blessed of the associations now labouring on behalf of the Church of Christ militant here on earth—I mean the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. By its assistance, and by its assistance alone, have means been provided for sending forth five clergymen, who are now labouring, not without fruit or effect, in those deserted portions of the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts. God is my witness, how willingly I would have put myself at the head of any portion of the Church of England which would have suffered itself to be stirred up to the height of this great undertaking; but the deaf and unheeding ear which was turned (I have in too many instances found) to my suggestion of the duty which their very position imposed upon all who derived advantage from the occupation of those wide tracts, forced me back upon the liberality of others at a distance, upon whom there was no claim, except that which is to the religious mind the most powerful of all; and for their listening to this application the blessing of many who were ready to perish shall come upon them.

... The principle of Church education is everywhere one and the same. It conduces to hold in check that diseased action to which the mind of society is inevitably subject, when abandoned too freely to its own impulses, from having been left to pick up a scanty and erroneous acquaintance with the articles of the Christian Faith, instead of being trained in the knowledge of them and in the fear of God by the agency of the Church as the appointed witness and keeper of the Holy Writ. I can but express my own confirmed and painful conviction that the adoption of any of the now favourite theories of general education founded upon an exclusion of the Church from its appointed province, would but aggravate the evil which it is designed to remove. In place of the opposition which Truth has now to encounter from rooted ignorance there would be substituted a more embittered spirit of opposition from unsanctified knowledge; vice, in the mean while, being not diminished in amount, but rendered only more specious and refined.

And now to speak candidly my apprehensions: they are, let me say, two-fold. First, it is to be dreaded that the governments of the earth, in arriving at a decision upon this great question, will suffer themselves to be influenced by motives of immediate expediency and of apparent utility which may prove deceptive; instead of being governed by principles which are eternal and imperishable, and contain in them a pledge of ultimate security. Such policy must terminate in its own defeat; and they who, through irresolution, are led to adopt it, will ultimately find a vast unmanageable power growing up, unaccountably to them, to interfere with and reverse the relations which ought to prevail between rulers and subjects. It is also much to be apprehended that too large a proportion of the Church of England, out of aversion to endure the burden (for it is a burden) of maintaining what they hear incessantly questioned, and for no other reason than because it is so questioned, will surrender their own judgment and opinions. They thus lie almost at the mercy of any party that keeps up a persevering attack; of which the abettors of innovation, political or religious, are well aware. Their system is, first of all, to attach (which they find easy means of doing) a certain notion of invidiousness or unpopularity to the maintenance of a view opposed to theirs; and it is found to require more strength of mind than the generality of men possess, to be able to face this. Thus have we witnessed many questions carried to our disadvantage: our own members, under this vague dread of doing something unpopular, having been reduced to neutrality, or induced even to take an active part against what they all the time professed to be supporting. I avail myself of this public opportunity of warning the Church of England, that in the same adverse manner will the question of General Education be determined, if by such temporizing acquiescence they dissipate their inherent powers; which ought to be sufficient for the preservation in our own hands of the direction of our own affairs. As to those who separate from us, I encourage no interference with them; nor does that which I do encourage and require, imply the slightest ill-will or want of charity towards them. My business is with those who are by profession members of the Church of England. Unfortunately—I say unfortunately both for themselves and for society—there are too many who regard this connexion as merely nominal, and accidental, and are, therefore, unprepared and unwilling to adopt any such decided course in their capacity and character of churchmen, as they would do, if they saw (which is the truth) that every man's determination regarding Church principles, whether it be favourable, neutral, or adverse, must tell more or less upon the issue of that contest which is in progress, between the ascendancy of the evil principle and the establishment of the dominion of true holiness and righteousness. They speak strongly of their attachment to the Reformation. To me it seems that the Reformation was worth the struggles and sufferings by which it was accomplished only so far as it placed the Church in a better position to promote the spiritual renovation of all things. This is its proper occupation. This is the

real question at issue. It is because we believe that God knew best what kind of organization it was necessary to bestow upon the Church, in order to fit it for accomplishing His work, with security to herself, and effectively for this purpose that we so earnestly contend for, our right to bring up its children in an acquaintance with everything which the Scriptures present as essential to its constitution. But we do insist that the Church itself, by its faithful clergy and people, and not seceders from it, shall be the judges of what is pronounced in Scripture to be necessary to this end. General Education is the question which has brought these principles to a crisis; and the Church of England has pronounced against a compromise. She will teach the Truth, whole and undefiled; and will be limited only by the compass of her own Articles and Liturgy, interpreted by one another, and not by the extent to which she may find those who are without, disposed to proceed with her. Sophistry and intimidation have so unsettled the determinations of men, that many shrink from this course, as it would involve them in a charge of exclusiveness. And if it do, what then? Truth is exclusiveness; though exclusiveness is not necessarily truth. The Gospel and the Church proceed, both of them, upon that assumption—"There is one faith." Our whole application is only that we may be assisted in teaching our children neither more nor less than that faith, according to our own opinion of what it embraces. And I must confess my astonishment that they who have set aside our whole ecclesiastical constitution in order that none might be constrained to frequent a church where he should hear either more or less than was agreeable to his own views of the truth, should now repudiate their own principle by saying that, either we shall have no schools at the public expense, or shall be constrained to frequent those in which the Christian doctrine, if taught at all, must, from the very nature of the system, be taught imperfectly; which, as we think, is the same thing as being taught falsely.

Questions of importance seem to multiply upon us as we proceed. There are others which I could not without a censurable omission leave unnoticed, as they conduce to show what is the true position (or at least what I have conceived to be the true position) of the Church of England; upon a just comprehension of which so much of the character and practical effect of religion among us must hereafter depend. The first of these subjects is the Protest which, in fulfilment of a most solemn duty, I felt it necessary to issue in opposition to the groundless pretension of the Bishop of Rome to exercise spiritual jurisdiction within this, my proper, lawful, and canonical diocese. In connexion with this subject, I wish first of all to direct your attention to the fact that, for well considered reasons, I rested this objection exclusively upon ecclesiastical grounds, without reference to those which our civil constitution, were it not become in this respect almost a dead letter, would oppose to so unprecedented and unjustifiable a proceeding. I preferred that my voice should be heard as that of the Christian Church itself, confiding in her internal powers and exercising her inherent right to remonstrate

against that dictatorial authority which assumes a privilege at its own pleasure to render asunder the body with a perpetual schism, under the guise of contending for the maintenance of undivided unity. It is my duty to make you, my brethren, the presbyters of my Church, parties to the views which directed me, and I therefore beg you will regard this proceeding not as intended or expected to produce any immediate apparent effect. My thoughts were directed to futurity; and my purpose was to establish a point of resistance, upon which my successors in this seat may fall back with advantage, and may rally round them the faithful supporters of the true constitution of the Church, when they (as will happen) shall be hemmed in by a pressure above measure; which shall warn them, as it did the Apostle, under a fellowship of difficulties, not to trust in themselves but "in God which raiseth the dead." In fact, therefore, my opposition was rested upon the terms of the Thirty-seventh Article, and of the Oath of Supremacy. Out of this a difficulty may appear to arise, which must now be noticed, lest it should be hereafter imputed to me that I had overlooked it. As relates to myself, I can have no scruple in declaring upon oath, or in administering such oath to others, that no foreign prelate has, by right, or ought to have, in fact (which is the meaning of the oath) any ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction within Her Majesty's realm; because I believe in my conscience, that this is the exact truth. It may be said, this is also the opinion of the Government; and so far as relates to the individuals composing the Government, it is probably so. But the important question is, whether the Government, in its corporate capacity, does not place itself in an inconsistent, not to say even an hazardous position, by continuing to require an oath to such effect, when its own proceedings virtually admit the directly contrary conclusion? My disposition is, to "submit to every ordinance of man," so long as nothing which aggrieves the conscience is required. Still, inconsistencies are not desirable to be retained; and can hardly fail to excite uncomfortable feelings: and therefore, as the civil power, for the defence of which this oath was originally devised, appears to have essentially dissented from the terms of it, the oath is become unmeaning and unnecessary, and should, I think, be repealed.

There is one other occurrence, concerning which a few observations must be offered, upon the same ground of your right to be fully informed as to the reasons of my several episcopal proceedings; such especially as involve important principles. The occurrence which I allude to is my ordination, according to the Anglican form, of two heretofore Presbyterian Ministers, approved by me out of several who had presented themselves with similar views.

As my previous enquiries, with a view to satisfy myself of the lawfulness and propriety of this step, were cautious and unremitting, my present reference to it shall be correspondingly brief and temperate; for I desire to give none offence. But some public notice of such an occurrence is necessary, lest it should be thought that I shrank from my own act; and still more because this example, taken in connexion with what has been said upon the preceding topic, will

best illustrate the position truly claimed by the English Church. Entertaining the persuasion, which I most firmly and conscientiously do entertain, that the government of the Church by bishops is the rule appointed by the direction of Christ himself, that through them alone can be derived a legitimate and sufficient authority to dispense the ordinances of the Gospel, and that peace and unity cannot, under any other appointment, be permanently maintained, I must be under an obligation to do, in such instances as offered themselves, that which, if done universally, I feel assured would operate more effectually than any other proceeding to heal the sores of the Church, and to cause it to flourish in internal security and peace. My opinion is perfectly well known, and I will now repeat it, that the visible Church of the Redeemer is not limited to any one communion, whether episcopal or not; but embraces all who believe and are baptized after the ordinance of Christ. I the more regret to hear this questioned, because the opposite principle appears to me uncharitable, having a tendency to extinguish any disposition which dissenters may feel to associate themselves with us "in the house of God as friends," and contradicting, as my judgment leads me to think, the declared sense of the Church of England itself. In the prayer for Christ's Church militant here in earth, "the Universal Church" is plainly described as synonymous with the term, "all they that do confess thy Holy Name"; and in interceding "more especially for the Catholic Church," we define it as consisting of "all who profess and call themselves Christians." It may be objected that if you thus admit that all who believe and are baptized are already within the Church, and, in proportion to the faith of each, partake of the invisible graces of the sacraments at the hands of those who minister among them, what further object can be effected by the episcopal ordination of the latter? What is its intent; what is its value? My reply to this is, that I direct my proceedings not so much with reference to the consciences of the individuals who receive our ordination (although I think that this is a consideration of great weight), nor to the particular benefit to be derived by those separate flocks over which they are now made overseers; but my concern is for the general interest of the Church of Christ, that it "may be inspired continually with the Spirit of truth, unity and concord." If the question be specifically of this or that believer, or of any number of individuals, I will not take upon myself to pronounce upon the state of their souls, even though they transgress what I believe to be the appointment of the Lord in taking upon themselves the office of the Ministry. But if you enquire concerning a Church collectively, whether with that irregular constitution it can be relied on to keep permanently its portion of the trust which is committed to the Church universal, I will not be led to say that it can. In this point of view, I do not believe that it affords equal security with a church which possesses a ministry derived from those to whom was addressed the declaration and the promise, "I have chosen you, and ordained you, that you should go and bring forth much fruit, and that your fruit should remain." As to the objection which

we sometimes hear that we lay all the stress upon a mere personal devolution of the office, without any regard to the attendant propagation of the true doctrine, I must be allowed to say that whoever urges this is sadly mistaken as to the fact. When we thus trace the origin of our ministry to Christ through those whom He had chosen and personally sent, we cannot, surely, dissemble that the apostolical ordination consisted of two parts—"Go ye into all the world"; there is the mission, or conveyance of authority; "and preach the Gospel"; there is the commission or appointment of duty, and we should reduce ourselves to an absurdity if we did not hold that, as God has joined these together it is not warrantable that they should be put asunder by the practice of man. The only succession truly apostolical is that which united them both.

No. 2

EXTRACT FROM LETTERS PATENT, APPOINTING THE
RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, WILLIAM GRANT
BROUGHTON, TO BE BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE OF
SYDNEY, AND DECLARING THAT THE BISHOP OF
SYDNEY FOR THE TIME BEING SHALL BE
METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF AUSTRALASIA.

(From supplement to the *New South Wales Government Gazette* of 31 December 1847.)

... And We do further will and ordain, that the said Right Reverend Father in God, William Grant Broughton, Bishop of the said See of Sydney, and his Successors, the Bishops thereof for the time being, shall be, and be deemed, and taken to be, Metropolitan Bishop of Australasia (subject nevertheless to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and subordinate to the Archi-episcopal See of the Province of Canterbury:) And We will and ordain, that the said Bishops of Newcastle, Adelaide, and Melbourne, and also the Bishop of Tasmania, respectively, shall be Suffragan Bishops to the said Bishop of Sydney, and his Successors: And We further will and ordain, that the said Bishop of New Zealand, and his Successors, shall also become Suffragan Bishops to the said Bishop of Sydney, and his Successors, in such manner, and at such time, as We, or Our Successors, shall hereafter, with the consent of the said Bishop of New Zealand, or upon a vacancy of the said See, be pleased by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Our said United Kingdom, to order and direct: And We will and grant to the said Bishop of Sydney, and his Successors, full power and authority, as Metropolitan of Australasia, to perform all functions peculiar and appropriate to the office of Metropolitan within the limits of the said Sees of Newcastle, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Tasmania, and also within the limits of the said See of New Zealand, whenever We shall, as aforesaid, be pleased

to order and direct; and to exercise Metropolitan jurisdiction over the Bishops of the said Sees, and their Successors, and over all Archdeacons, Dignitaries, and all other Chaplains, Ministers, Priests, and Deacons in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland within the limits of the said Diocese: And We do by these presents give and grant unto the said Bishop of Sydney, and his Successors, full power and authority to visit once in five years, or oftener if occasion shall require, as well the said several Bishops, and their Successors, as all Archdeacons and Dignitaries, and all other Chaplains, Ministers, Priests and Deacons in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland, resident in the said Dioceses, for correcting and supplying the defects of the said Bishops, and their Successors, with all and all manner of visitatorial jurisdiction, power, and coercion: And We do hereby authorize and empower the said Bishop of Sydney, and his Successors, to inhibit, during any such visitation of the said Dioceses, the exercise of all, or of such part or parts of the Ordinary Jurisdiction of the said Bishops, or their Successors, as to him, the said Bishop of Sydney, or his Successors, shall seem expedient, and during the time of such visitation to exercise by himself, or themselves, or his or their Commissaries, such powers, functions, and jurisdictions, in and over the said Dioceses as the Bishops thereof might have exercised if they had not been inhibited from exercising the same: And We do further ordain and declare that if any person against whom a judgment or decree shall be pronounced by the said Bishops, or their Successors, or their Commissary, or Commissaries, shall conceive himself to be aggrieved by such sentence, it shall be lawful for such person to appeal to the said Bishop of Sydney, or his Successors; provided such Appeal be entered within fifteen days after such sentence shall have been pronounced: And We do give and grant to the said Bishop of Sydney and his Successors full power and authority finally to decree and determine the said Appeals: And We do further will and ordain that in case any proceedings shall be instituted against any of the said Bishops of Newcastle, Adelaide, Melbourne, Tasmania, and New Zealand, when placed under the said Metropolitan See of Sydney, such proceedings shall originate and be carried on before the said Bishop of Sydney, whom We hereby authorize and direct to take cognizance of the same. . . .

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